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THE ART OF WRITING

EDITOR'S NOTE

The four papers published in this number of the Art Bulletin are so interrelated in content, and point so consistently in their conclusions to a common conception of the character and sources of late antique style, that it seemed fitting to combine them into a small volume of «Studies» and to give them the adequate and simultaneous publication that was afforded by the generous hospitality of the Art Bulletin.

The School of Classical Studies is much indebted to Dr. Shapley for this assistance given to the publication of its work, and the writer of this note knows also that in the preparation of the papers the authors were greatly aided by several scholars of Rome and elsewhere, notably Dr. Richard Delbrueck and Monsignor Josef Wilpert. To these gentlemen and others whose assistance is acknowledged in the notes of the papers, the writer wishes to extend the thanks of the School as well. The preparation of the material for the press has been the chief task of the editor; he was relieved of most of the proof-reading by the kind help of Miss Marion Lawrence, author of the initial paper of these «Studies».

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CITY-GATE SARCOPHAGI

By MARION LAWRENCE

THIS paper is part of a longer study that hopes to make a contribution to the classification of styles in the fourth century and to bring some answer to the questions that constantly confront the student of the period, viz.: is the art of Italy in this epoch homogeneous, as it has generally been treated, or is it composed of different styles partly indigenous and partly foreign? if foreign style can be isolated, is it to be attributed to importation or to local manufacture by foreign workmen?

The tendency of Strzygowski to emphasize the importance of the Nearer East,—Syria, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia; and of Wulff to attribute all unattached monuments of Early Christian art to a Syrian school, has been met by a defence equally strong on the part of many eminent German scholars, especially Weigand and Rodenwaldt, who hold that Rome maintained an original style during the late empire, and influenced the eastern provinces rather than received inspiration from them. It is difficult to find a middle ground of probability between these two points of view because Rodenwaldt and Weigand treat mostly monuments prior to the fourth century while Strzygowski and Wulff deal largely with products of the sixth or later centuries. If one admits that style in Italy is indigenous and homogeneous in the second and third centuries and if the Syrian and Eastern influence is equally striking in the sixth, as is generally agreed, it becomes especially important to discover what happened in the intervening centuries to bring about this change.

In my efforts to solve the above problem, I have taken Christian sarcophagi as affording the largest number of examples and the most continuous line of development. These fall naturally into two groups, those with a continuous frieze along the front, and a second class with the figures in an architectural framework usually of columns and arches. This cleavage in fourth century Christian sarcophagi is paralleled by a like cleavage in the pagan sarcophagi of the second and third centuries. The architectural or columnar group as it is generally called, has been discussed and published by Strzygowski, Th. Reinach, Michon, Muñoz, Mendel, Stohlman, and Morey, who have shown that it centred in Asia Minor where most of the examples have been discovered. The appearance of later sarcophagi of the type in the west shows that direct importation probably took place, while still others seem to be copies made in Italy by local workmen from an imported model¹. The purpose of my study has been to determine whether the style of the Christian columnar sarcophagi bears out the natural assumption that they are descendants by filiation or imitation of the Asiatic types created in the second century and to what an extent they retain the Asiatic style.

1. G. Rodenwaldt, *Säulensarkophage*, in *Röm. Mitt.*, XXXVIII, 1923-24, p. 1-40; C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, vol. V, I,

The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi, p. 56 ff.

The architectural background of the Asiatic sarcophagi is the result of a fundamental difference between the Asiatic and Latin versions of the Hellenistic style. The one, deriving from the Neo-Attic tradition, prefers a neutral background, or, if a specific background is necessary, limits it distinctly by using a wall or other definite backdrop. The other, derived from Roman illusionistic art, strives to catch the illusion of life. This appears in sculpture in the attempt to represent an unlimited crowd by placing one figure behind another until the one farthest back is in very low relief, enough so that the shadows will fall on it as in life. The Asiatic artist, on the other hand, tends to isolate the figures as he considers each to be self-sufficient. Crowds are avoided or conventionally massed, while the poses are fewer and adhere more closely to classical formulae.

The Asiatic sarcophagi were produced in three types². The first shows three aediculae or niches on the long side, the central niche crowned by a pediment while wall cornices cover the narrow intercolumniations between the central and the terminal niches, the latter being covered in turn by arches. These are generally filled by conches which radiate from the bottom upward. In the second class the three aediculae are replaced by five niches usually filled, at least from the third century, with conches, and with the arches resting directly on the capitals; the spandrels are filled with foliate design. The third type shows again the projecting aediculae but they have no conches or impostes and are covered by a horizontal entablature which is continued along the wall of the intervening spaces.

Characteristic features which connect these groups are the spiral colonnettes and the type of capital, which throughout the whole Asiatic series is decorated by « double volutes », the corner volute and its returning spirals being equated and tangent. But the latest of the Asiatic sarcophagi, a fragment of a lateral face from Constantinople, now in the Berlin Museum³ (Fig. 49) shows that Asiatic usage had changed in the period of almost a century which separates this fragment from the rest of the Asiatic series. In the Berlin piece we find no double volutes, no conches and a debased composite capital. The Christian columnar sarcophagi during the course of the fourth century show a consistent employment of the composite capital and a gradual disappearance of the conches which persist only in the five-arch and seven-arch types. The composite capital of the Berlin fragment (a detail already found in the Asiatic series on the sarcophagus of Torre Nova) and its lack of the older Asiatic « double volute », make the Christian columnar sarcophagi appear as the natural intermediate phase between the Asiatic sarcophagi of the third century and the ultimate type represented by the Berlin fragment. On the other hand the Christian sarcophagi when they use a conch, reverse its direction so that it radiates from the top downward. This is a western trait, as Weigand⁴ has shown that there was a decided Latin preference for this form in distinction to the eastern use of the conch radiating from the bottom up. The earliest

2. Morey, *op. cit.*

3. See Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 30 for further bibliography.

4. *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, XXIX, 1914, p. 63 ff. There is however some indication of Eastern use of the western conch radiating from the top to be found in its employ-

ment in the arcade on the northeast face of the Arch of Galerius at Salonica. (Kinch, *L'arc de triomphe de Salonique*, pl. VI) and its occasional employment in the architecture of the miniatures of the Menologium of Basil II (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, Torino, 1907).



FIG. 1 — Paris, Louvre: Sarcophagus Front (Photo Giraudon).

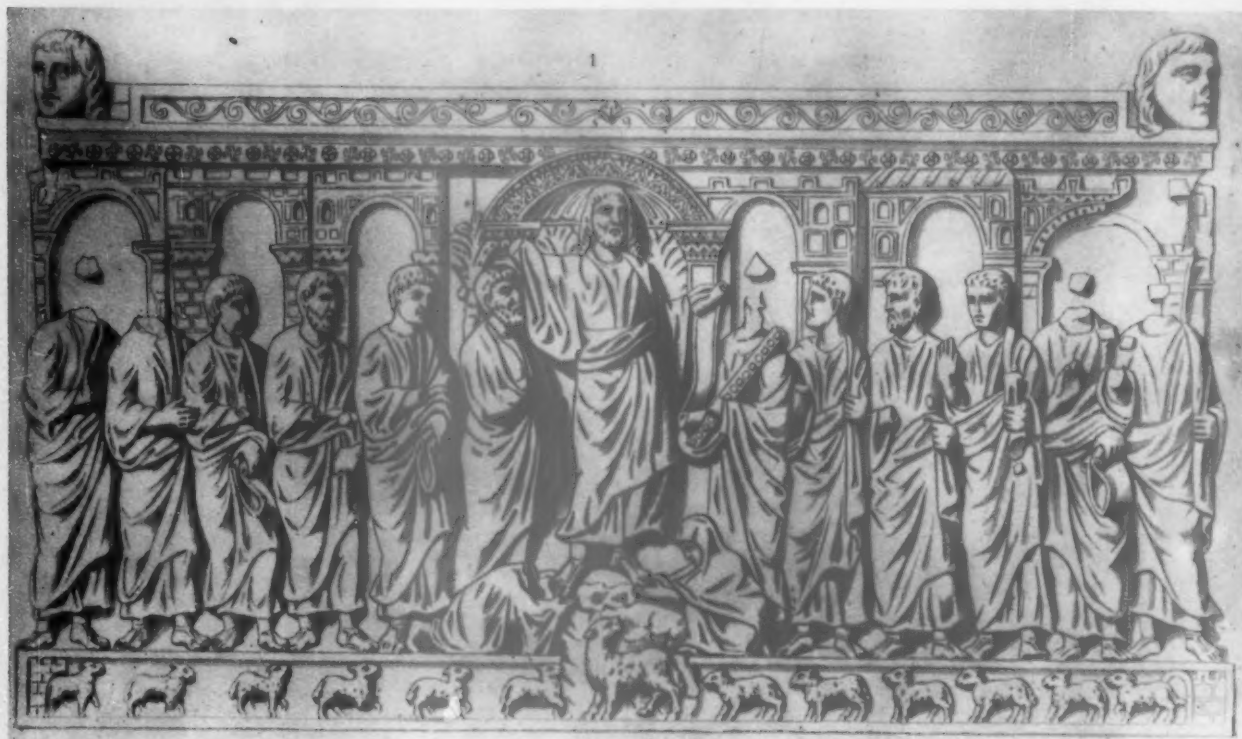


FIG. 2 — *Milan, S. Ambrogio: Sarcophagus Front.*



FIG. 3 — *Milan, S. Ambrogio: Back of Sarcophagus (Photo Alinari).*

types of the Christian series, however, retain the traditional three types of composition used in the Asiatic group; the arcade of five niches, the three-niche form with central gable and arcuated aediculae on the ends, and the type with the horizontal entablature. The essential feature of the spiral colonnette also remains. The natural inference from such evidence is that the Christian examples are a continuation of the Asiatic sarcophagi, showing in their change of the direction of the conch an adaptation to western taste which indicates, at least for the sarcophagi using conches, exclusive manufacture for a western market.

The hypothesis sketched in the above paragraph, while indicated by the evidence at hand, needs the more specific proof which I hope in the following pages to produce in respect at least to one important group of the columnar series, the sarcophagi with a background imitating the walls and gates of a city.

As has been stated, the earliest columnar sarcophagi with Christian subjects repeat the traditional Asiatic form of three aediculae⁵, the level entablature⁶, and especially the form with five niches which was increasing in popularity in the second half of the third century among Asiatic sculptors⁷. But the Christian ateliers soon invented new types. A variation with five niches of alternating arch and gable resting directly on the capitals grew out of the original type of three aediculae with separating intercolumniations. From this in turn grew the examples with seven arches and gables while a similar type using seven arches came from the old five-arch composition. About the middle of the fourth century comes a breaking up of the old forms. The double register variety, to which the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus belongs, is formed by the combination of two niched types, one placed above the other. Trees sometimes displace the columns entirely, their foliage forming arches over the heads of the figures. This was probably suggested by the foliate filling that often appears in the spandrels of the earlier arched types⁸. Sometimes as in sarcophagi with the figures of the twelve apostles all division between the figures is abandoned but in the background between the heads are placed stars while wreaths are held above the head of each apostle, thus forming what has been called the «star and wreath» type⁹. The «city-gate» sarcophagi compose another group which substitutes for the colonnade a row of city-gates crowned with crenellations. This very shortly breaks down into the «palm and city-gate» group and that into a mixed type that is decorated with a medley of arches, gables, horizontal entablatures, palm trees, and city-gates, thus epitomizing the whole columnar evolution.

Of the foregoing types I have chosen the «city-gate» series as a first chapter to my study of columnar sarcophagi because it is a small and easily defined group and because, unlike the larger groups that continue for a longer period of time, it shows

5. Of these, a sarcophagus in the Museum at Spalato (Garrucci, *Storia dell'Arte Cristiana*, Vol. V, 299, 1-3) seems to be the earliest. This has been dated on good archaeological evidence by Jelić c. 325.

6. The well-known no. 174 of the Lateran Museum, (Garr., V, 323, 4-6) is an example of this type. The Constantinian monogram prevents us from assigning it, with Sybel, to the time of Diocletian, and comparison of its style and ornament with the sarcophagus of Junius Bas-

sus indicates a somewhat later date than that of the latter.

7. Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

8. The tree sarcophagus in the Lateran, Marucchi, *I Monumenti del Museo Cristiano Pio-Lateranense*, pl. XXVII, is perhaps one of the earliest members of this group. The foliage is naturalistic, while birds and their nests appear in the branches.

9. Perhaps the best example of this group is a sarcophagus in the Museum at Arles, Garr., *op. cit.*, V, 351, 4-6.

a distinct unity of style. Three members of the group, moreover, have valuable criteria for date, a coincidence that does not occur in any other type.

Of the unity of the group there can be no doubt. Iconography, ornament, and figure style, beside the all important use of an arcade of city-gates as a background, bind the members together.

First among the examples are two sarcophagi so similar that it seems they must have come from the same atelier. One is the famous sarcophagus under the pulpit at S. Ambrogio, Milan; the other is now in the Louvre whither it came with the Borghese Collection. The Milan sarcophagus¹⁰ (Fig. 2) shows the characteristic composition of the group. Against a background of city-gates a procession of apostles advances from either side toward Christ who is standing on a central mount. The arcade is interrupted by a large central arch filled with a conch against which the head of Christ is relieved, but there is no attempt to join the entablature logically to the arch. Christ is bearded; Peter carrying a jewelled cross heads the apostles from the right while Paul holds the corresponding position on the left hand. The two small donors at Christ's feet and the palm trees behind are usual accompaniments of the scene and often four rivers flow from the mount¹¹. The band of alternating swastika and rosette ornament at the top of the trough is noteworthy, as the Louvre sarcophagus uses the same motif. The *Agnus Dei* with the twelve apostle-lambs on the podium is a feature that appears on one other member of our group (Fig. 15). This scene that occupies the whole front is peculiar to columnar sarcophagi and rare except on the city-gate type. The lateral faces are also significant. On the one at the right (Fig. 4), we find the Sacrifice of Isaac and an uncertain scene, probably three saints accompanying the dead. The city-gates continue, as well as the swastika and rosette ornament, but the base is decorated with a heavy floral rinceau. This same theme runs up the pilaster at the corner, which in its elaborate decoration immediately recalls Syrian ornament. At its base the sawtooth, zigzag acanthus is to be noted. The composite capital is also characteristic and the undulating ribbon on the archivolt of the central arch is noteworthy as it appears consistently throughout the group.

The left end (Fig. 5) presents a medley of scenes. The Ascension of Elijah shows us both prophets beardless, four horses, and but the rudiments of a chariot on which Elijah stands. At the right corner a beardless Moses receives the law while in the middle, and very much crowded, we find Noah in an octagonal ark and a diminutive Adam and Eve below the bodies of Elijah's horses.

The fourth side (Fig. 3) has a composition very much like the first but all the apostles are seated and Christ is of the youthful and beardless type. Also instead of an arch behind Him we find a section of level but concave entablature against which the head is relieved. This is an important feature which though common on Asiatic sarcophagi appears nowhere else in ancient ornament. The city-gates and rest of the ornament continue as before.

10. *Ibid.*, V, 328, 1-3, 329, 1 and p. 51 where further bibliography is given.

11. In this paper I have limited myself to a study of

style and have not attempted a symbolic interpretation of the scenes, as Monsignor Wilpert will treat this aspect in the text of his forthcoming corpus of Christian sarcophagi.

The Milan sarcophagus still retains its cover which is of a type common to the group; a high sculptured band on one side, low gables at the ends, and on the fourth side a narrow decorative rim with large masks or acroteria at the corners. As Rodenwaldt has noted, the lid of this sarcophagus has probably been turned around as it is the only example in which the portrait of the deceased or the inscription, is not above the Christ on the mount. The front or high side of the cover has the portraits of a man and his wife in a shell-shaped medallion in the center which is supported by two putti. At the left we find the scene of the three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar. They are refusing to worship the image, a bust on a spiral column, and are turning instead to the star. On the right three Magi are presenting their gifts to the Christ-Child. The Constantinian monogram with the A and Ω that appears in the gable of the cover of the right hand end affords us valuable evidence for date as we know this is first found in the dated inscriptions of Rome in 355¹². It is probable therefore that our sarcophagus was done sometime after the middle of the fourth century.

The Louvre sarcophagus, the next in our series, was discovered in the foundations of St. Peter's near the sarcophagus of Probus¹³. In 1651 Aringhi speaks of it as recently moved to the Church of Sta. Marta and when next we hear of it, it is in the Borghese Collection which in 1808 was purchased by France. The front and the two ends are on the walls of the Louvre but the fourth side apparently never left Rome and has been until the last year in the Borghese Gardens¹⁴. It has recently been placed in the Conservatori Museum, in five fragments, but intact except for the ornament at the top. The cover has disappeared.

The similarity between the two sarcophagi is at once obvious. The front (Fig. 1) shows the same composition with Christ on the mount surrounded by His apostles. Peter with the cross, the donors, the palm trees, the bearded Christ are the same. A concave entablature such as appears on the fourth side of the Milan example, replaces the conched arch, and the foliate rinceau of the socle here appears on the front as well as on the other three sides. The band of swastika and rosettes at the top is essentially the same. One difference, however, is evident; instead of depicting the apostles in a single line which necessitates crowding and overlapping, the artist has here two planes, a foreground in which he places four apostles on each side, and a background plane for the two remaining figures. That he does not accomplish this very successfully and create an illusion of sufficient space for the figures behind, is a fact to be noted in our discussion of the question of Asiatic or Latin workmanship. The Louvre sarcophagus has evidently suffered in its wanderings as many of the heads are broken. Of the original work on the front we can be sure only of the Christ head and of the second and fourth from the end on the right side and possibly, the second from the end on the left.

The ends also are strikingly alike. On the first (Fig. 6), we find the Sacrifice of

12. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, Vol. I, 127.

13. Garr., V, 324, 1-4; Bottari, *Roma Sotterranea*, I, pl. 25-27; P. Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea Novissima*, I,

p. 300-305; F. de Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, II^o, p. 794 ff., pl. 227, no. 777.

14. Monsignor Wilpert discovered it and published it in the *Atti della Accademia Pontificia, Rendiconti*, series III, vol. II, 1923-24, p. 173, fig. 4.

Isaac represented in essentially the same fashion with Abraham standing beside the tree and Isaac kneeling on the altar. Three saints also accompany the dead as on the other sarcophagus. It will be noticed, however, that instead of the awkward way in which on our first example, the body of the terminal apostle on the back overlaps and merges into that of the saint on the extreme right, a pilaster has been placed at each corner in the Louvre sarcophagus, to obviate this difficulty. On the other end also (Fig. 7) the composition has been improved for while Elijah is mounted in his chariot in precisely the same way and Moses receives the law as before, the other two scenes are omitted and in their stead, the river god Jordan is placed beneath the rearing feet of the horses. The « Napoleon III » head as Monsignor Wilpert has aptly called it, is of course a later restoration and both Elijah and Moses were originally beardless¹⁵.

The fourth side (Fig. 8) only is different. It is of the common type with panels alternately containing figures and two rows of strigils. In the centre is a shepherd between two trees with two sheep at his feet, and in each terminal panel a beardless figure of uncertain significance in front of the characteristic city-gate. On both the Louvre and the Milan sarcophagi it is to be noted that the crenellations of the wall are treated in a logical fashion and form a straight and tower-like top. In view of the close similarity between these two examples in choice of subject, composition, and ornament, it seems to me probable that they were made in the same atelier. On the other hand the few improvements in the Louvre example in composition and arrangement and the variation of the fourth side would indicate a slightly later date than the earlier experiment of the school, viz. the Milan sarcophagus.

Most closely allied with these two sarcophagi is the tomb of Gorgonius in the crypt of Ancona Cathedral¹⁶ (Fig. 9). From the inscription on the plate of the cover we see that it was ordered by Flavius Gorgonius *comes largitionum privatarum* and *praefectus praetorio*. Of the identity of this man with the Gorgonius who held the office of *comes rerum privatarum* in 386¹⁷, I think there can be little doubt, especially as we know from a letter of Symmachus that he lived in the region of Ancona¹⁸. If Gorgonius was *comes largitionum privatarum* in 386 and afterwards *praefectus praetorio* he must have died at least as late as the end of the fourth century, which gives us the approximate date of his sarcophagus. Comparing this with our two previous examples, we can thus get a working date for the whole group. I shall take up the style in detail later but I think it obvious from a first glance that the proportions are squatter, the heads are too large for the bodies, and the figures are less well articulated than those of either of our previous examples. The ornament is not as rich and, most important of all, the crenellations of the wall that in the other sarcophagi were logically treated, here follow the curve of the archivolt in a very unarchitectural fashion. All this argues a later date for the Ancona sarcophagus and hence we are probably safe in placing the Milan and Louvre examples, the best of our type, somewhat before the end of

15. See Bottari, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 27.

16. Garr., V, 326, 1-3, 327, 1; p. 49 where further bibliography is given. O. Wulff, *Altchristliche u. Byzantinische Kunst*, Abb. 101, p. 117.

17. Cod. Theod., 10, 13, 1, see Dessau, *Inscriptiones*

Latinae Selectae, Vol. I, 1290, p. 287, and. C. I. L., IX, 5897.

18. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. VII, 1657. Seeck, who writes the article, has accepted the identity of this man with our Flavius Gorgonius.



FIG. 4 — Milan, S. Ambrogio: Right Lateral Face of Sarcophagus
(Photo Alinari).

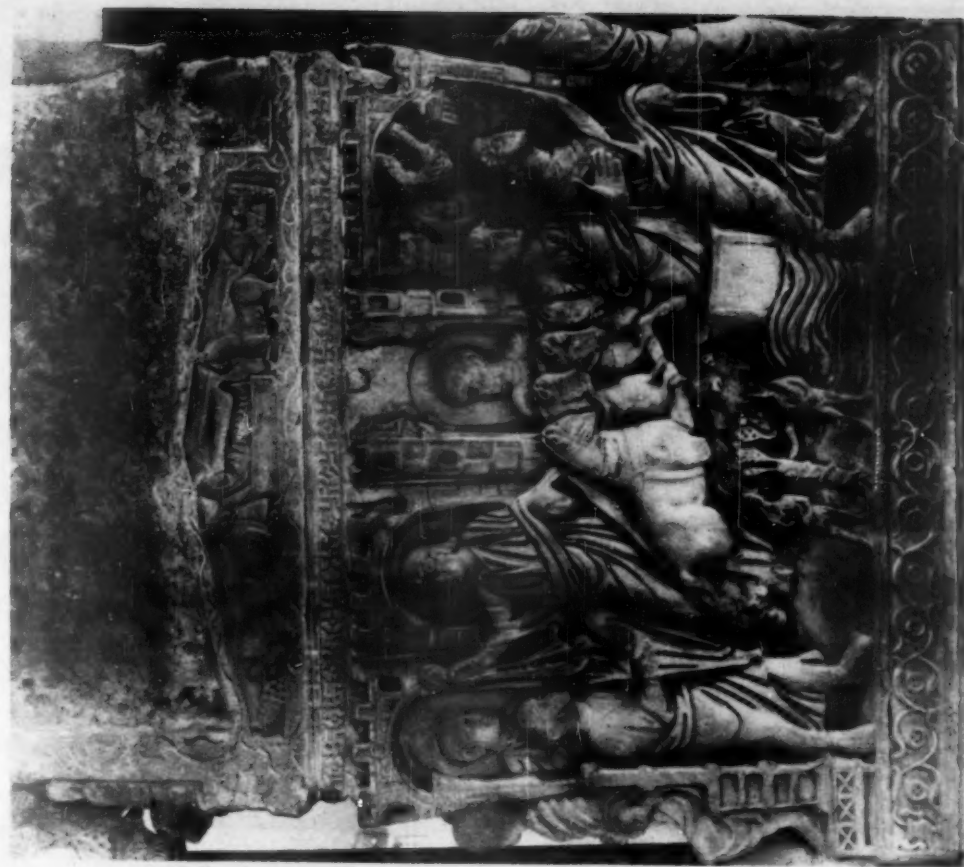


FIG. 5 — Milan, S. Ambrogio: Left Lateral Face
of Sarcophagus.



FIG. 6 — *Paris, Louvre: Lateral Face of Sarcophagus (Photo Giraudon).*



FIG. 7 — *Paris, Louvre: Lateral Face of Sarcophagus (Photo Giraudon).*

the fourth century. This is also borne out by the *terminus a quo* of c. 350 which we have already cited for the Milan sarcophagus in the Constantinian monogram with the A and Ω.

The composition of the front (Fig. 9) is already familiar. The concave entablature behind Christ's head is the same as on the Louvre sarcophagus. Only ten apostles, however, are here represented and thus again the problem of crowding is avoided. The scheme of the rinceau is the same but it is without the rosettes and it is of simpler pattern. Replacing the swastika and rosette is a band of alternating oblongs and ovals, suggestive of jewels set *en cabochon*. The cover is of the same kind as the Milan example but the scenes on the front are quite different, here a combined Nativity and Adoration on one side, and on the other, Moses (with mutilated face) receiving the law, David and Goliath, and the Baptism with a prophet or evangelist standing beside the scene to the right.

The ends also continue the type although they are not identical compositions with the others. On the one at the left (Fig. 10) we find a beardless Moses receiving the law and again the Sacrifice of Isaac with the child on the altar. The scene of the saints and the deceased is here condensed to a single saint but the costuming of the deceased in the long chlamys of the court official is the same as before. The other end (Fig. 11) has the scene we found on the Milan cover, the three Hebrews refusing to worship the image, again a bust on a column, and turning instead to the star. It is slightly more elaborate as Nebuchadnezzar is seated and has two companions but the Hebrews wear the same Phrygian costume. The corners are turned by pilasters as in the Louvre sarcophagus, adorned with an ornament with which I shall deal later. The gables of the lid are filled each with a small scene probably representing the life of the deceased. The masonry of the wall continues in the corners and the acroteria are formed by the half palmettes common as acroteria on the Asiatic sarcophagi¹⁹. The fourth side (Fig. 12) is like that of Paris, of three niches with intermediate panels of strigils. In the center are the figures of husband and wife in an arch supported by spiral colonnettes and filled with a conch radiating downwards, while the terminal niches contain beardless figures as on the Louvre example. Decorated pilasters here replace the columns but the conch remains.

Our next example, the sarcophagus of Catervius in the Cathedral of Tolentino²⁰, differs from the others in that the city-gate background appears only on the ends. It is decorated on all four sides, however, and is so close in many respects to Ancona that I think it wise to treat it here. The front (Fig. 13) uses the economical device we have already seen twice before in our group, of alternating panels and strigils. In the central niche is the Good Shepherd who here carries the sheep while a dog sits at his feet. Two bearded figures occupy the terminal panels while behind them instead of architectural background, we find the western *parapetasmata*²¹. The cover contains solely the inscription block and two portrait busts in the corner acroteria. The back is even simpler. Here we find terminal pilasters imitating the brick work of a city

19. Morey, *op. cit.*, figs. 26, 60, 69.

20. Garr., V, 303, 1-3; 304, 1; p. 13 for further bibliog.

21. Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

wall, wide strips of strigils, and in the center a square panel which encloses a disc containing the portrait busts of Catervius and his wife. In the upper corners of the square appears the Constantinian monogram with A and Ω while the Asiatic half-palmettes form the acroteria of the cover.

Both ends, however, show the city-gate background. On the one at the left is the Adoration of the Magi while above in the gable of the cover occurs the monogram cross between lambs. The right end (Fig. 14) is the important one for our consideration, for it almost duplicates the composition at Ancona of the three Hebrews. The similarity is so great in arrangement, costume, decorated pilaster, and palmette acroteria that it seems one must have been inspired by the other. The less elaborate composition of the front and its greater simplicity, the absence of decorative bands along the top and bottom of the trough, and above all the cruder technique and lower relief of the front incline me to believe that Tolentino was made after Ancona but directly influenced by it. The inscription on the cover informs us that Septimia Severina erected it to her dear husband, Flavius Julius Catervius, *vir clarissimus* and *praefectus praetorio*. A Catervius who was *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 379 is mentioned in the Codex Theodosianus²² and although this may be the same man, there is no evidence to prove it one way or the other. Mommsen²³ doubts the identity but the probability is greatly increased by the use of the monogram cross which first appears in 368 in dated epitaphs²⁴. This sufficiently indicates the date and if the inscription alludes to the Catervius of 379, the fact that this sarcophagus was ordered after Catervius' death while that of Gorgonius at Ancona was made during his lifetime would still permit Tolentino to be an imitation of Ancona.

The series next continues with every indication of the same atelier as Milan and Paris in a curious sarcophagus now encased in the altar of the Colonna Chapel of St. Peter's²⁵ (Rome I, Fig. 18). Like others of the group it came from the Vatican Cemetery and was only moved out from St. Peter's for a short time when the present dome was building. Owing to the altar put over it in 1727 by Benedict XIII, the central part only is visible. We know the whole composition, however, from the drawings of Aringhi which were copied by Bottari and Garrucci (Fig. 15). It is the usual scene of Christ and the apostles, here condensed to ten as at Ancona, Peter carrying the cross, a bearded Christ, and below twelve lambs with the Lamb of God as we saw them in the sarcophagus of Milan. Branches of palm-trees, and of a vine, fill the background instead of city-gates but these are interrupted by an arch behind the central figure of Christ. The city-walls appear as before on the ends, which are almost replicas of those of Milan and Paris. On the one, (Fig. 16) is the Ascension of Elijah with a river god below the horses as in the Paris version of the theme, and a beardless Moses receiving the law at the corner. The other (Fig. 17) with the Sacrifice of Isaac and the saints accompanying the deceased is closer to Milan as there is only one pilaster. This appears beside Abraham and is decorated with a rinceau. A later date however is indicated by its greater simplicity, especially the omission of the bands of ornament, and

22. Cod. Theod., 6, 30, 3, see Dessau, *op. cit.*, I, 1289, p. 287.

23. C. I. L., IX, 5566.

24. De Rossi, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 208

25. Garr., V, 327, 2-4; Bottari, *op. cit.*, pl. 28, 29, p. 105 ff.; Aringhi, *op. cit.*, p. 307 ff.; Grousset, *Étude sur les Sarcophages chrétiens*, no. 149, p. 96.

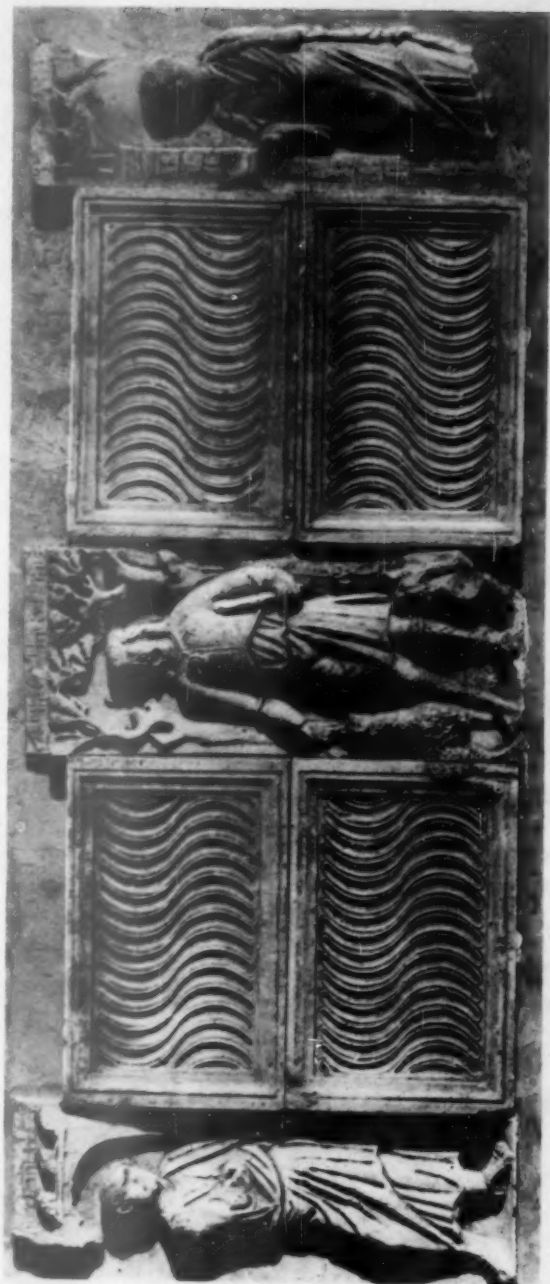


FIG. 8 — Rome, Conservatori: Back of Sarcophagus (Paris).

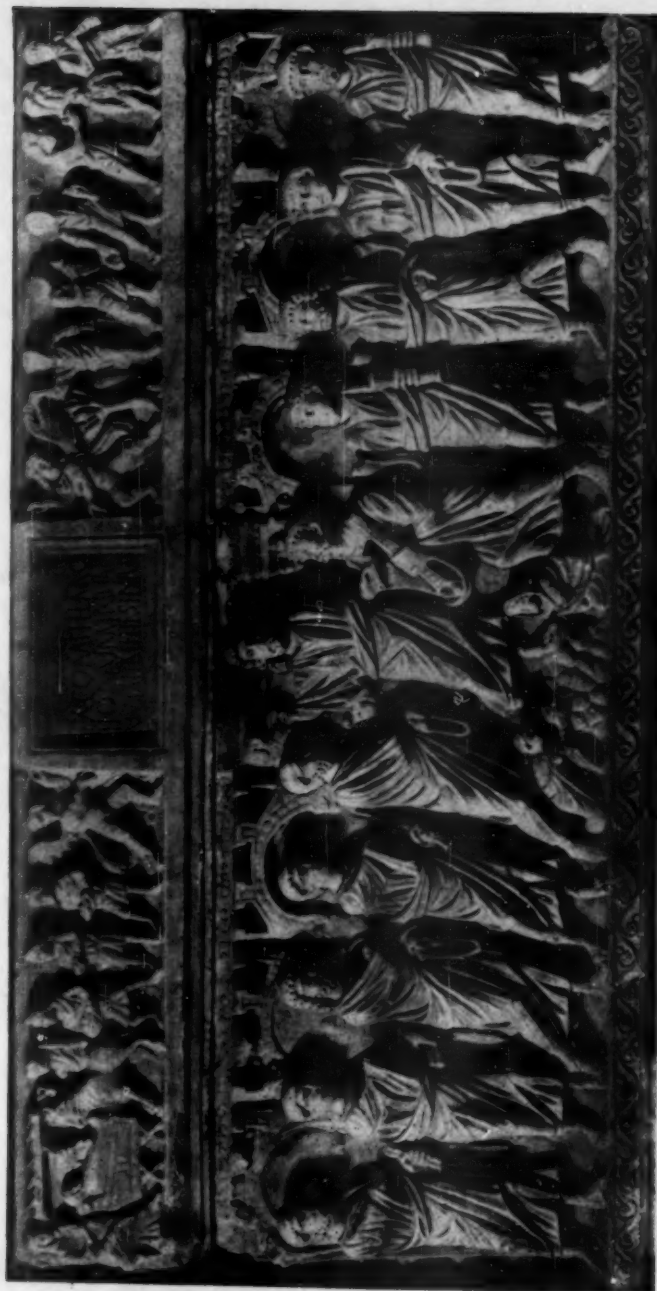


FIG. 9 — Ancona, Cathedral: Sarcophagus of Gorgonius, Front (Photo Alinari).



FIG. 10 — *Ancona, Cathedral: Left Lateral Face
of Sarcophagus.*



FIG. 11 — *Ancona, Cathedral: Right Lateral Face
of Sarcophagus.*

the illogical way in which the crenellations follow the line of the arch as at Ancona. Another indication of a breaking tradition is the absence of sculpture from the fourth side. This is to be deduced from Aringhi's description of 1651 when the sarcophagus was visible on all four sides; he gives drawings of three sides and says nothing of a fourth.

This ends the «city-gate» group proper and terminates the list of the complete examples found in Italy of the pure type. Copies of the type exist in Gaul. In the Church of Saint-Sauveur at Aix in Provence is a sarcophagus²⁶ (Fig. 19) that shows the simple decadence of the type. The traditional composition is retained; Christ is still on the mount slightly elevated above his apostles while donors kneel at his feet. Peter carries the cross but the city wall has lost its crenellations and windowed turrets, and instead, a roof is indicated along the whole length. Christ's head is relieved against a section of concave entablature which in this instance is undecorated. The whole sarcophagus in fact has none of the careful ornament of our previous examples and is crude and clumsy in execution. The lid belongs to another sarcophagus and is probably pagan.

Apparently very similar to Aix was the lost sarcophagus of Moutier-Saint-Jean, which we know only from a drawing in Dom Plancher's *Histoire de la Bourgogne*²⁷. He describes it as a tomb of white marble and adds that the sides are decorated with scrolls but gives no picture of them. As on the sarcophagus of Aix, the city-gates are much simplified and the crenellations omitted. A central arch of the wall replaces the concave entablature and Christ, not Peter, holds the cross. It is impossible to judge of the style, but the modification and simplification of the composition in itself is sufficient to place it as a later copy of the type.

A few unimportant fragments also exist, among them the left end of a sarcophagus front that came from the crypt of the Church of Saint-Victor and is now in the Marseilles Museum²⁸ (Fig. 20). Against the broken section of two arches of the wall are the fragments of five apostles. Only one of the figures still has a head. The wall has windows and turrets, and over one section a roof, while the archivolt is decorated with the winding ribbon motif. The handling is not as summary as that of the two preceding examples and this sarcophagus is probably of a slightly earlier date.

In Italy we find modifications of the type. We have noted some of these already in Rome I where trees replaced the city-gates and in Tolentino, where the customary composition of the front was omitted entirely. In the sarcophagus from the Villa Ludovisi now in the Lateran Museum²⁹ (Rome II, Fig. 23,) we find the typical background and the twelve apostles as before but instead of Christ in the center is a Symbolic Crucifixion, or more properly a Resurrection. The sarcophagus is badly mutilated. All but two of the city-gates have been broken off; we can not tell what was the treatment of the background behind the central wreath and the figures are too worn to

26. Garr., V, 331, 3; E. Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, p. LI, 2, and p. 143.

27. Vol. II, p. 37, no. 148. It is reproduced in Le Blant, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

28. Le Blant, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, 1; p. 43 for further bibliography.

29. Garr., V, 350, 3; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII, 5.

be of much value in a study of style. The few faces that remain, however, and the shape of the heads, resemble the style on our other examples³⁰.

There are also a number of Italian fragments. In Rome we find a section of the front of a sarcophagus of our type in the little Museum of S. Sebastiano³¹ (Rome III, Fig. 22) with other fragments found in the catacomb of that name. The heads of three apostles remain and sections of three of the arches of the city wall. These have windows and turrets but the crenellations follow the line of the arch thus indicating a date late in the group. A reminiscence of the *cabochon* ornament also appears around the archivolt.

The fragment of an end in the Ravenna Museum³² (Fig. 21) shows the Sacrifice of Isaac and two other figures of doubtful identity. Exaggerated and illogical crenellations preclude an early date but the appearance of Isaac on this further member of the group adds to the frequency with which that scene has appeared in our series. The chief importance of these fragments is the evidence they produce that the type was originally probably much more widespread than is indicated by the examples that have come down to us³³.

A subsidiary group, which seems to have grown out of the original type, shows how quickly columnar sarcophagi lose their architectural consistency and assimilate themselves with the frieze series. The «palm-and-city-gate» type has been so entitled because the continuous arcade of the wall is broken and palm-trees appear at intervals. The original scene is condensed to the three figures of Christ, and Peter and Paul, while other scenes are added on the front. Thus the tradition of a single scene is broken. The mixed iconography, furthermore, and the figure style that but slightly resembles that of the city-gate group proper, indicate that these sarcophagi must have come from an entirely different atelier.

Only one example seems to exist intact today and it is in France, a sarcophagus in the crypt of the Church of Saint-Maximin³⁴ (Fig. 24). The small central scene still retains the bearded Christ on the mount and Peter with his cross. The donors are omitted but the four rivers remain. Behind Christ however are palm-trees and the city wall is no longer continuous but appears in isolated towers behind the characters. One or more lambs are usually added to the composition. The other scenes present a medley of the Old and New Testaments. At the extreme left a beardless Moses receives the law, a scene common on the ends of city-gate sarcophagi. The Denial of Peter with the cock on a low pedestal shows us a Christ of the beardless youthful type in contrast to the type of Christ used in the central scene. And it is thus He appears in the scene

30. Perhaps here I should also mention the sarcophagus in Mantua Cathedral (Garr., V, 320, 2; 321, 1, 2), since the suggestion of a city wall appears on the ends. The composition of the front however, is of the seven arch type; the walls when they occur are placed upon slight Corinthian columns and are obviously an element foreign to the tradition of the artist. Both ends, I believe, have been reworked. As the figure style is late and entirely different from the peculiar style of the «city-gate» type, I shall postpone treatment of this sarcophagus until I take up the group to which the front belongs.

31. This example was brought to my attention by Mon-

signor Wilpert and it is through his kindness that I publish it here.

32. H. Dütschke, *Ravennatische Studien*, p. 44, no. 48, Abb. 22.

33. Even since 1885, one of these fragments has disappeared. Grousset, *op. cit.*, no. 140, lists it and describes it as at 27 Via Nomentana, Rome, and as showing five apostles in front of four crenellated arcades. It was unpublished and as far as I can discover never photographed. Repeated visits to the house have failed to find it and at present it is not in any of the museums of Rome or their storerooms.

34. Garr., V, 334, 3; Le Blant, *op. cit.*, pl. LVI, 1, see p. 155 for further bibliography.



FIG. 12 — Ancona, Cathedral: Detail of Back of Sarcophagus.



FIG. 13 — Tolentino, Cathedral: Sarcophagus of Catervius, Front.



FIG. 14 — Tolentino, Cathedral: Right Lateral Face of Sarcophagus.



FIGS. 15, 16, 17 — Rome, St. Peter's: Front and Lateral Faces of Sarcophagus (Rome I).



FIG. 18 — Rome, St. Peter's: Detail of Sarcophagus Front (Rome I).

on the right of the Delivery of Keys to Peter. At the end Abraham holds Isaac by the top of his head while the altar is high up on a rock behind and Isaac stands on the ground. This is quite different iconography from the tradition of Isaac on the altar as we have seen him on so many of the original city-gate group. On the lid appears a Massacre of the Innocents of the «smashing type» that, as Professor E. Baldwin Smith³⁵ has shown, occurs only in Provence.

Another sarcophagus of this subsidiary group is one now in fragments in the Lateran Museum, Rome IV. Found originally under the pavement of St. Peter's, it was drawn and reproduced by the older archaeologists³⁶. It then disappeared completely for a time and Garrucci considered it lost. Some years ago, however, four fragments built into the wall of a grotto in the Borghese Gardens were discovered to correspond to the drawings. They were moved to the Lateran and a fragment of the cover with the Adoration of the Magi was found already in the Museum, and recently a fifth piece of the trough has turned up. The rest of the sarcophagus is lost, but Fig. 25 shows the original composition. Again we find the central scene condensed as before, and that Christ is beardless in the subsidiary scenes. The representation of Christ before Pilate is a theme far more common to columnar than to frieze sarcophagi, but that of the Entry into Jerusalem is found in both groups with equal frequency. On the cover the scene of the Hebrews is as we have found it often before in the series except that the sequel of the fiery furnace is added. The combined Adoration and Nativity is very like the one on our last example.

At least two other sarcophagi of this type existed but are now destroyed or lost and are known today only through drawings. One was from the Vatican cemetery and is pictured by Garrucci³⁷ (Fig. 26). It is almost a frieze sarcophagus in its medley of unrelated scenes while only one bit of architecture appears at the extreme left, in the tower which has no base and vanishes in a half arch without apparent support. The iconography is mixed and both the bearded and beardless Christ types are used. The second sarcophagus was formerly in the Church of Sainte-Nicaise at Reims³⁸ but is now destroyed. It is mentioned by numerous writers and Garrucci gives a drawing of it (Fig. 27). Again only one section of the city wall is left and to all intents and purposes the sarcophagus might be of the frieze type. The central scene has been modified still further by the omission of the mount, but a beardless Moses receives the law in characteristic fashion. The next scene, that of David and Goliath, occurred, it will be remembered, on the cover of Ancona but this is the first appearance of the theme of Job and his comforters, a rare and probably late subject.

Much more closely allied with the city-gate group, than these last four examples of a late and contaminated style, is the sarcophagus of the mixed type in the crypt of the little Church of S. Giovanni in Valle at Verona³⁹ (Fig. 28). Here sections of a level entablature break the city wall while the central scene is simplified as on the

35. *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory-carvers in Provence*, p. 62 ff.

36. Garr., V, 334, 2; Bottari, *op. cit.*, pl. 22, p. 82; Aringhi, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 294-295; Cover only, Garr., V, 398, 5; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI, 1.

37. Garr., V, 334, 1; Bottari, *op. cit.*, pl. 23.

38. Garr., V, 341, 1, and p. 66 for further bibliography.

39. Garr., V, 333, 1-3, p. 57 for further bibliography.

« palm and city-gate » type. And as also in that type, Christ is beardless in the miracle scenes that occur. Two of the scenes, moreover, Christ healing the woman with the issue of blood and the Samaritan woman at the well, repeat the iconography found on the lost sarcophagus of the Vatican Cemetery. Christ and the centurion is a subject that occurs only on columnar sarcophagi while the Kiss of Betrayal is almost exclusively confined to that type. The cover is of the common variety and portrays among other things the characteristic scene of Moses receiving the law. This is balanced on the other side, however, by Daniel in the lions' den, a subject extremely popular on frieze sarcophagi. The ends show the same mixture of iconography and atelier tradition. On the one at the left (Fig. 29) we find the typical city-gate background and in front of it Cain and Abel presenting their offerings to the Logos, a scene that seems to be strongly columnar. The right end (Fig. 30), on the other hand, has no background and presents the theme of Adam and Eve, a favorite subject on frieze sarcophagi. The logical crenellations of the city wall and the continuance of an architectural background along the whole of the front would point to a date early rather than late, which is borne out also by the comparatively good figure style. The rinceau at the bottom is very close to that at Ancona and the rest of the ornament, broken-down acanthus and undulating ribbon, as well as the species of capital, are common to the group⁴⁰. In style also as we shall see, it connects closely with the city-gate type.

Another member of this mixed group is a fragment now in the Museum of Le Puy⁴¹ (Fig. 32). Here trees continue the background after the city wall stops. The scenes represented are both unusual; at one end we see the Dream of Joseph and the Espousal and then an uncertain scene, representing Christ with two apostles. The style as in our other Gallic examples is a modification of the original treatment and the sarcophagus is chiefly important as showing one of the many outgrowths from the city-gate group.

The « Red Sea » sarcophagi also are connected with our group, since they not only show city-gates at intervals on the front, but also when the ends are sculptured as on the example at Aix, we find city walls used as a background. This group has been listed by E. Becker⁴² and numbers fifteen examples, counting fragments, while the scene appears in more abbreviated form on a group of the double register frieze sarcophagi. I have chosen one to illustrate the type. Fig. 33 reproduces the example in the museum of Arles⁴³. It will be seen that while this type resembles the frieze sarcophagi superficially in the comparative lack of background, it is nevertheless closer to the columnar tradition in the choice of a single scene with which to decorate the whole front. The hosts of Pharaoh issue from a city-gate at the extreme left while on the other side a beardless Moses leads the group of Israelites. Other examples, e. g. Lateran 114⁴⁴, repeat the city wall at more frequent intervals. Becker shows that from the time of Eusebius on, a parallel was drawn between Constantine's victory over Maxentius at Ponte Molle and the destruction of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea. This suggests to him

40. The block with heavy leaf ornament which appears above the cover is of a different stone and does not belong to the sarcophagus.

41. Garr., V, 398, 1; Le Blant, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII, 4.

42. *Protest gegen den Kaiserkult u. Verherrlichung des Sieges*

am Pons Milvius, in Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit, Röm. Quart. Suppl., 19.

43. Garr., V, 309, 2; Le Blant, *Étude sur les Sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la Ville d'Arles*, no. XLII, p. 54.

44. Garr., V, 309, 3; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, 2.



FIG. 19 — Aix, Saint-Sauveur: Sarcophagus Front.

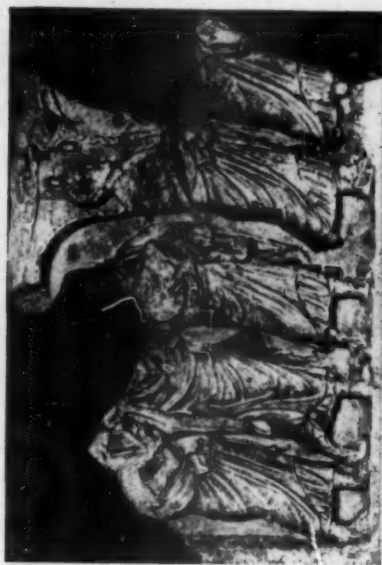


FIG. 20 — Marseilles, Museum: Fragment of Sarcophagus Front.



FIG. 21 — Ravenna, Museum: Fragment of Lateral Face of Sarcophagus.



FIG. 22 — Rome, S. Sebastiano: Fragment of Sarcophagus Front (Rome III).



FIG. 23 — Rome, Lateran: Sarcophagus Front (Rome II).



FIG. 24 — *Saint-Maximin: Sarcophagus Front (Photo Giraudon).*



FIG. 25 — *Rome, Lateran: Sarcophagus Front, now in Fragments (Rome IV).*



FIG. 26 — *Rome (Formerly): Sarcophagus from Vatican Cemetery.*

the period of Constantine as the time when these sarcophagi were produced, a dating which is stated more explicitly by Sybel⁴⁵ who believes that the composition on the front of these sarcophagi was directly inspired by the representation of the battle of Ponte Molle on the Arch of Constantine. Becker also cites as indicative of the same date the labarum which appears on the lateral face of an example at Spalato, and the Constantinian monogram inscribed on Miriam's tambourine on another in the Museum at Metz (preserved only in a drawing). His chief argument for an early date however is the superiority of style shown by certain members of his group over the average manner of the sarcophagus makers.

* Now the criteria of the labarum and monogram are valuable solely as *termini a quo* and the figure style is better understood by a comparison with the city-gate sarcophagi of the end of the fourth century than with the ordinary Latin relief as exemplified by those of the frieze type. Its superiority over the latter indicates a different tradition rather than an earlier date. That these sarcophagi are not earlier than the city-gate type is shown by the illogical way the crenellations follow the archivolt as they do in the later examples of the city-gate composition⁴⁶. The most important members of the « Red Sea » group reproduce the figure style of our city-gate type (Becker's numbers: I Arles, Saint-Trophime; II Arles, Museum, (Fig. 33); VII Aix; XI Nîmes; XV Rome, Lateran; and XXI Spalato). We see the peculiar bulbous shaped head, large high placed ear, and full faced eye with drilled pupil that characterize the style of our sarcophagi. The treatment of the hair, the postures and slow halting movement are also typical, as I shall point out in greater detail in the section on analysis of style. Of the others, X Bellegarde is too defaced for us to judge and the rest are fragments. Thus the « Red Sea » sarcophagi should be classed as another ramification of the city-gate group.

We will close our description of the mixed types with the two sarcophagi and a pair of fragments which form the small « Bethesda » group. One is now in the Lateran Museum⁴⁷ (Fig. 34), the other is above the door of the Cathedral of Tarragona⁴⁸ (Fig. 35). Aside from some minor details the sarcophagi are replicas and follow each other closely in the rather strange choice of scenes. At the extreme left Christ, a long-haired, beardless figure, heals two blind men; we then see the healing of the woman with the issue of blood, and next in order Christ, escorted by two apostles, and walking toward the next scene. This episode is represented in a curious double register arrangement with the paralytic at the pool of Bethesda below and above, the man carrying his bed after the miracle. The final scene on the right is the Entry into Jerusalem⁴⁹. The city-gates appear at intervals, interrupted by a section of a level entablature, a gable and an arch in the Lateran example. The Tarragona sarcophagus shows only an arch

45. *Christliche Antike*, II, p. 191.

46. On the one example where they form a straight line across the top (Lateran, Garr., V, 309, 3) architectural logic is destroyed in the tower on the right nearest the center, by the extreme thinness of the arch, while we next see an archivolt balancing huge baskets, evidently copied from the spandrel ornament of a sarcophagus of the five arch type. These two cases of

unarchitectural treatment preclude the possibility of an early date.

47. Garr., V, 314, 5; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX, 2, see p. 16 for further bibliography.

48. Mérida, *La Escultura Hispanocristiana*, p. 20, fig. 20. Photograph by Arxiv « Mas », Barcelona, no. 1418, Series C, 1908.

49. In the Lateran example the figure of Christ in this scene and the apostle behind Him are restorations.

beside the city-gates and therefore I believe it to be the earlier of the two. Over the central Bethesda scene in both cases is a series of small arches.

In the museum of Vienne⁵⁰ and at Die⁵¹ over the door of the Mairie are fragments with this same central scene and the description of a sarcophagus formerly at Arles, given by Le Blant⁵² after Peiresc, apparently shows the same sequence of scenes with the characteristic episode of Bethesda in the center. Thus the probable surviving examples of the atelier are increased to five. The wide dispersion of this little group and the remarkable resemblance of the Lateran sarcophagus to the one in Tarragona, in far off Catalonia, brings up immediately the problem of their origin. Are they the work of a traveling atelier which wandered over Italy, France, and Spain carrying with them a sketch of the composition once rendered and reproducing it exactly on each successive example? Or as seems more probable, were the sarcophagi themselves, heavy and large as they must have been, exported over sea and land from one central workshop to all parts of the empire? This is a question we can not hope to answer but it shows clearly how easy was the distribution of these monuments by one method or the other.

Thus, to recapitulate, we have a clearly defined and closely unified group of city-gate sarcophagi of which the best and earliest examples are at Milan and Paris. Slightly later in date is the Gorgonius sarcophagus at Ancona which still adheres to the rule. Tolentino and Rome I and II introduce variations in the composition of the front but are obviously of the group. In Southern France appears a small number of copies probably of somewhat later date. Also later in date and showing a distinct intermixture with the tradition of the frieze sarcophagi in style and iconography, is the subsidiary «palm-and-city-gate» type. A mixed group in which the city-gate is introduced among other elements, is initiated by Verona which must be fairly early in date and which though showing contamination in iconography still adheres to the figure style of the original group. In this same category are to be placed the mass of the «Red Sea» sarcophagi and the «Bethesda» examples, while Le Puy belongs clearly to the Gallic imitations mentioned above.

My illustrations have, I hope, made clear the similarity of the different examples. Their divergence from the ordinary frieze sarcophagus is equally striking and I shall point it out as occasion arises. The problem now presents itself: what origin is indicated for this group by iconography, style and ornament? Is it indigenous to Italy or must we seek elsewhere for prototypes? Is it an outgrowth of the pagan types of Asiatic sarcophagi of the second and third centuries and if so, is it still Asiatic and made by Asiatic workmen or has it been so modified by Latins that it shows no longer Asiatic characteristics? I have felt that the city-gate group, once definitely classified, will prove a corner stone to the whole study of columnar sarcophagi.

Certain scenes, we have noted, keep repeating themselves with insistent regularity on these sarcophagi. To begin with, let us take the central scene of Christ on the mount with His twelve apostles. This is entirely foreign as far as I can discover to

50. Le Blant, *Gaule*, pl. V, p. 21.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

52. Le Blant, *Arles*, p. 67, no. LXV.



FIG. 27 — Reims, Saint-Nicaise (Formerly): Sarcophagus Front.



FIG. 28 — Verona, S. Giovanni in Valle: Sarcophagus Front.



FIG. 29 — Verona, San Giovanni in Valle: Left Lateral Face of Sarcophagus.



FIG. 30 — Verona, S. Giovanni in Valle: Right Lateral Face of Sarcophagus.



FIG. 31 — Paris, Louvre: Fragment of Sarcophagus (Denizli A).



FIG. 32 — *Le Puy, Museum: Fragment of Sarcophagus Front.*



FIG. 33 — *Arles, Museum: Sarcophagus Front (Photo Giraudon).*



FIG. 34 — *Rome, Lateran: Sarcophagus Front (Photo Anderson).*



FIG. 35 — *Tarragona, Cathedral: Sarcophagus Front (Photo Mas).*

Latin frieze sarcophagi which never devote the whole front to a single scene⁵³ but deriving as they do, from the catacomb tradition, break up the composition quite naturally into a medley of small unrelated scenes. On the other hand, the city-gate sarcophagi and the columnar group as a whole, in their purest examples, present one unified scene on the front. This is a very important distinction.

Smaller scenes and motifs also must be noted. Peter carries the cross on every example of the series. A beardless Moses receiving the law appears seven times. The Sacrifice of Abraham with Isaac kneeling on the altar is repeated five times. On four sarcophagi we find the Hebrews refusing to worship the image, which is not to be confused with the very common scene of the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace; while the Ascension of Elijah occurs on three ends. Of these themes, that of Peter carrying the cross is found only on the Ravenna sarcophagi and those of the columnar type⁵⁴. With the former I hope to deal in a later section of my study. The other four scenes are predominantly columnar although a few exceptions⁵⁵ occur on double frieze sarcophagi. As this variety is strongly connected with the columnar type, however, I do not feel they militate against my conclusions.

Furthermore on the « palm-and-city-gate » sarcophagi and on the mixed types we find other scenes that are significant for their iconography. Job, the Marriage of the Virgin, Joseph's Dream, and Christ and the Centurion, are scenes confined to columnar sarcophagi, while those of the Betrayal, the Delivery of Keys to Peter, and Christ before Pilate, have only negligible exceptions⁵⁶. The Symbolic Crucifixion which comes into our group only incidentally on Rome II is restricted entirely to columnar sarcophagi while the scene of the Crossing of the Red Sea with a beardless Moses, Christ healing two blind men, and the theme of the Paralytic by the pool of Bethesda are completely foreign to frieze sarcophagi. In all, we have seventeen scenes characteristic of our type, ten of which never occur on a frieze sarcophagus. There must be some significance to this.

53. The few exceptions to this statement have such strong connection in style with our group that I believe they are works of the ateliers that produced the columnar type and not the frieze sarcophagi.

54. In this section I am using statistics compiled by Professor Frederick Stohlman. A brief summary of them appeared in the *A. J. A.*, for 1922, the report of a paper read at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute for 1921 on *The Primitive Christian Cycle in Asia Minor*. I wish to thank Mr. Stohlman for the generous way in which he put his material at my disposal.

55. A beardless Moses receiving the law appears on three double frieze sarcophagi (Rome, Lateran, Garr., V, 358, 3; Syracuse, Garr., V, 365, 1; Arles, Garr., V, 310, 4). The first is the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers and it is on this that we find the curious paradox of the scene of Christ before Pilate in which the figure of Christ is omitted; a treatment that can only be explained by presuming it to be a copy from a columnar sarcophagus in which Christ is in another intercolumniation, cf. the Junius Bassus sarcophagus. The Syracuse example has another columnar scene, viz. the Hebrews before the image, and in figure style so closely resembles the city-gate group that I believe we are justified in predating direct influence.

Isaac on the altar occurs on Arles, Garr., V, 366, 2, again a double frieze sarcophagus in which Christ is omitted from the scene with Pilate.

The Hebrews with the image appears on two of the double frieze examples cited above, Arles, Garr., V, 366, 2; and Syracuse, Garr., V, 365, 1. It also is found on two covers of doubtful type, Aix, Garr., V, 397, 2 and Trèves, Le Blant, *Gaule*, p. 11.

The Ascension of Elijah occurs on the double register frieze, Arles, Garr., V, 399, 1; a fragment of doubtful type, Rome, Lateran, Garr., V, 396, 9; and a frieze sarcophagus, Rome, Lateran, Garr., V, 372, 5. The latter is so exceptionally crude and shows such evident misunderstanding that it must be a copy.

56. The Betrayal occurs on two sarcophagi, one double frieze, Le Blant, *Arles*, pl. XXIX, the other of uncertain type, Garr., V, 399, 5. The first is too much mutilated to judge of style; the second is now lost.

The sole exception to the scene of the Delivery of keys to Peter appears on a frieze sarcophagus in S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, Garr., V, 313, 3, which upon examination proves to be clearly of our figure style.

Christ before Pilate, aside from the paradoxical cases noted above, is found on the double frieze Arles sarcophagus mentioned above (Le Blant, *Arles*, pl. XXIX); on a lost sarcophagus of the same type formerly at Poitiers (Le Blant, *Gaule*, p. 81) which is known only from a slight drawing; and on a Romanesque copy in S. Ambrogio, Milan, cited by Garrucci, V, 353, 4.

When we endeavor to discover, however, the inspiration for these scenes that makes them so different from the Latin tradition, we are seriously hampered by the dearth of monuments of the first four centuries A. D. outside of Italy and especially in Asia Minor and the East. I have found some of our scenes on sixth century examples however and in manuscripts, copies that undoubtedly show an earlier tradition.

Peter carrying the cross appears in the sixth century Rabula Gospel of the Lauren-tian library in Florence⁵⁷. The *motif* also occurs on the relief from Sinope in Berlin⁵⁸(Fig. 50) and on one of the Studion reliefs in the Museum at Constantinople⁵⁹. The Ravenna sarcophagi I have already mentioned; while the provenance of this series needs the detailed study which I hope to give it in another section of my work, I may cite here the conclusions of Wulff⁶⁰, which may be said to represent the current opinion on their origin at least so far as it predicates an origin in Asia Minor⁶¹.

The Sacrifice of Isaac as Mrs. Alison Smith MacDonald⁶² shows in her article on the iconography of that scene, is here of a distinctly different tradition either from the Latin as we see it on frieze sarcophagi or the Alexandrian. In the former Isaac kneels on the ground or stands in front of the altar (Fig. 38), in the latter the altar is the cup-shaped affair with three peaks such as appears in the frescoes of Bagawat and on the Berlin pyxis. A misunderstanding of this occurs in the vasethe altar of the Cosmas Indicopleustes⁶³, a manuscript of the ninth century whose miniatures however represent an Alexandrian Cosmas of the sixth. The contrasting iconography of the scene on our sarcophagi is obvious. Throughout the series (it is represented five times), Isaac kneels on the altar and Abraham in long flowing draperies stands beside him but not touching him. Usually his sword is raised. Mrs. MacDonald found no other examples of this type except on columnar sarcophagi and a later modification in the mosaics of the very Asiatic church of S. Vitale at Ravenna.

The Ascension of Elijah is another characteristic scene. Elijah is always beardless. Four horses and a chariot are used while Elijah stands directly over the wheel in the chariot and not above the horses. A companion is behind while under the horses' feet in front, are usually the river god Jordan, and a river weed, as indications of locality. Comparing this with the scene in the Asiatic miniatures of the Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris Ms. gr. 510⁶⁴, we find our scene almost duplicated; the same posture,

57. G. Biagi, *Riproduzioni di Manoscritti Miniati, Bibl. Laurenziana*, pl. II, Garr., III, 139, 2.

58. O. Wulff, *Altchristliche u. Mittelalterliche; Byzantinische u. Italienische Bildwerke* (Berlin Museum Catalogue), Vol. I, no. 29; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, fig. 88.

59. Mendel, *Musées Impériaux Ottomans*, Catalogue des Sculptures, vol. II, no. 668 (see page 47 for discussion of date).

60. *Altchr. u. Byz. Kunst.*, p. 176 ff.

61. It also continues in several Italian mosaics of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries that show a strong Asiatic tradition: S. Giovanni in Fonte, Naples (Garr., IV, 269); S. Lorenzo, Rome, triumphal arch (Garr., IV, 271); and the Chapel of S. Venanzio, Lateran Baptistery (Garr., IV, 272). The appearance of exactly our scene with Christ in the center on the mount, the palm trees behind, and Peter and Paul at the sides, the former carrying a

cross, on the gold glass of the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican (Garr., III, 180, 6) and on the graffito from the cemetery of Priscilla (Garr., VI, 484, 14) indicates that the scene was becoming popular at the time and was probably copied from our sarcophagi on a number of minor works of art. A gem and two medals in the Museo Cristiano also show Peter with the cross (Garr., VI, 478, 37; 480, 11; 480, 6).

62. Alison M. Smith, *The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac in Early Christian Art*, A. J. A., XXVI, 1922, p. 159.

63. C. Stornajolo, *Miniature della Topografia Cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste*, Cod. Vat. Gr. 699, fol. 59, pl. 22: Garr., III, 142, 1.

64. Omont, *Facsimilés des plus anciens Manuscrits grecs*, Bibl. Nat., pl. XLII, fol. 264-b; although made in Constantinople in the ninth century, it shows undoubtedly an earlier tradition.

cloak, four horses and chariot, with the river god below. In the Alexandrian Cosmas⁶⁵, however, Elijah seems to ride the horses, which is probably a misunderstanding, but in any case it is a *biga* and not a *quadriga* that carries him to Heaven. The Chludov Psalter⁶⁶, the monastic psalter with the strongest Asiatic iconography, has an Ascension almost identical with that of « Paris 510 » while in the Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus⁶⁷, on the other hand, we find in a fresco of the second half of the fourth century, the other type of scene with two horses and Elijah astride them. It seems then, as if a distinction could be drawn between the Asiatic version with four horses and chariot and the Latin and Alexandrian types.

The Asiatic iconography of Christ healing two blind men has been shown by Professor E. Baldwin Smith⁶⁸. The scene is completely alien to frieze sarcophagi as we said, but appears in a number of eastern manuscripts; the Rabula Gospel⁶⁹, the Sinopensis⁷⁰, and « Paris 510 »⁷¹. We also find it on the Etzchmiadzin ivory book cover⁷² and in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, which in fact, is the only example aside from our group of its occurrence in the early Christian art of the west.

Also in the small scenes of those mosaics, occur two contradictory traditions. With no possible regard to historical sequence we see both the bearded and beardless types of Christ. This same confusion appears on our sarcophagi. In the scene of the front, of Christ on the mount, we find always the bearded tradition while the miracle scenes of the « palm-and-city-gate » sarcophagi and the mixed examples portray the younger beardless figure. On our earliest sarcophagus, however, the one in S. Ambrogio, Milan, in the scene on the back of Christ seated with His apostles, we find Him beardless, in contrast to the front of the same sarcophagus. Although the bearded type is generally acknowledged to be of Asiatic origin, it will be remembered that the Christ of the Berlin fragment although long haired, has no beard. Obviously both traditions existed in Asia Minor, probably varying with the locality or with the dogmatic significance desired.

In Rome, aside from the bearded Shepherd who is not necessarily Christ, the earliest bearded Christ is in the mosaic of the apse of Sta. Pudenziana, of the end of the fourth century. The examples in the catacombs quoted by Wilpert, Sybel and Sauer⁷³ have no accessories to identify them conclusively and are just as probably bearded

65. Stornajolo, *op. cit.*, fol. 66 b, pl. 27; Garr., III, 147, 1.

66. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, p. 23, fig. 19.

67. J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, pl. 160, 2.

68. *op. cit.*, p. 98 ff.

69. Garr., III, 137, 1.

70. A. Muñoz, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, pl. B 1; *Monuments Piot*, vol. VII, pl. XVIII.

71. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV, fol. 310 b.

72. Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, vol. I, Das Etzchmiadzin Evangeliar, pl. I.

73. J. Sauer, *Das Aufkommen des bärtigen Christus-typus in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, in *Strena Buliciana*, pp. 303-329. This is an extremely uncritical article in that no thorough examination is made of the monuments cited as to date, provenance, and significance; the more recent literature on Early Christian iconography is largely

ignored. Sauer takes as his earliest examples of the bearded Christ the shepherds of the hypogaeum under Viale Manzoni, dating them in the second half of the second century and assuming gratuitously that the shepherds represent Christ and that they are Christian in the first place. Of his other examples in frescoes, the only ones which can reasonably be supposed to represent Christ (Domitilla, Wilpert, *Pittura*, pl. 187-3; Hermes, Wilpert, 247; Pietro e Marcellino, Wilpert, 252-3) are not to be dated before the end of the fourth century, and are possibly later. The article shows at least that the bearded type became popular during the end of the fourth century, and it is interesting to note that his so-called « Vatican » group of sarcophagi, which had much according to him to do with its prevalence, is entirely composed of sarcophagi of the columnar type. He has not distinguished clearly however between those which employ a single scene for the front and on which only the bearded Christ appears, and the sarcophagi of mixed iconography in which

saints. Our sarcophagi of the end of the fourth century, therefore, fit in with the Sta. Pudenziana mosaic as showing the earliest representations of the bearded Christ and it is thus as corroborative for date rather than conclusive for provenance that we must use this bit of iconography.

Summing up our conclusions so far, we find a decided preference for a single composition on the front, and nine or more scenes that never appear on frieze sarcophagi. Peter with the cross has definite Syrian and Asiatic connections while I have been unable to find any early ones in the west. The negative evidence in the Sacrifice of Isaac is also of value. Our iconography is neither Latin nor Alexandrian. The Ascension of Elijah moreover shows definite connections with Asia Minor and contrasts both with the Alexandrian and Latin tradition. The iconographic evidence both negative and positive thus points towards Asia Minor.

Let us now examine the ornament. The whole scheme of decoration and the conception of the design contrasts with Latin sarcophagi. The high cubical shape and the fact that our examples are carved on four sides connects them immediately with the Greek rather than with the Roman sarcophagus⁷⁴, for the former was a monument destined to be set up out-of-doors and viewed from all sides like the ancient altar; hence its architectural form and sculptured socle and cornice. The Roman sarcophagus, on the other hand, as it was intended for the interior of a tomb, was low and oblong in shape, its ornament on only three sides and in consequence it sacrificed architectural structure to the necessities of the figured frieze. The Milan sarcophagus counting its lid, is in height more than two-thirds of its length (164 cm. high to 238 long). The four-sided decoration we have already noted on the most important members of the group. As they were obviously made for the Roman market whether manufactured in Italy or imported from Asia Minor, it is not surprising that the plain fourth side quickly appears⁷⁵. The ornamented podium or base is another feature we have noted and this also is a feature of Asiatic sarcophagi in accordance with their architectural treatment.

we find a beardless Christ in the miracle scenes. Of the 22 examples he cites, 12 belong to the former category and 10 to the latter, while 5 of the former are «city-gate» sarcophagi, and 5 of the latter are «palm-and-city-gate» sarcophagi or of mixed type. Examples of his «Vatican» workshop are scattered over Italy, the South of France, and Spain, with less than half of them in Rome; the «Vatican» provenance seems to rest on the prominence of Peter in the iconography. This argument would add the Ravenna sarcophagi to the «Vatican» workshop since on many of them Peter occupies the place of honor and bears the cross. One of these in fact Sauer has included in his list (Garr., V, 332, 2), omitting however its congeners (Garr., V, 345; 336, 4; 336, 3; 346, 2).

74. For a comparison of the two see Altmann, *Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage*.

75. Rodenwaldt, in his article *Säulensarkophage*, (*Röm. Mitt.*, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1923-24, p. 1, ff.), and specifically in the rather brief section thereof which he has devoted to the Christian columnar examples, finds difficulty in making the «city-gate» group fit in with his thesis that the columnar sarcophagi of the fourth century are all derived from an exclusively Roman tradition. Troubled by their evident affinities with the eastern type,

he ultimately finds «*die Ausdehnung der Dekoration auf die Rückseite aber durch die feierlich repräsentative Aufstellung dieser Sarkophage in Kirchen und Mausoleen begründet*». The back of the Paris sarcophagus «shows the typical facade of a Roman strigil-sarcophagus», and its shepherd wears a «*roemisches Schulterkrage*». In reply to the latter, one might as well assume that this costume originated in Gaul since the dress of our shepherd is practically duplicated, not only in the short cape and tunic but in the peculiar leggings as well, on many Gallic monuments (see forthcoming volume on Roman dress by Miss Lilian M. Wilson). The other feature, scarcely specific enough to isolate a tradition, can hardly be counted against the characteristic Asiatic relieving of the head against the entablature which occurs on the front. The dictum that there is nothing un-Roman in the figure-style or architectural details of the «city-gate» sarcophagi is I think sufficiently answered in my text.

The author of this article, charged with the task of completing Robert's great corpus, and interested particularly in the pagan rather than the Christian sarcophagi, has not pushed far his study of the latter, as may be seen by the waiving of the evidence of iconography. To Rodenwaldt the Christian sarcophagi of the fourth century



ANCONA



ANCONA



MILAN, etc.
characteristic capital



TOLENTINO



MILAN



RABULA



RABULA



MSCHATTA



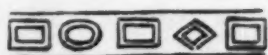
RABULA GOSPEL



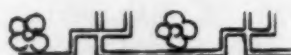
KANAWÂT



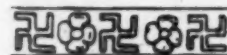
ANCONA



ANCONA



PARIS



MILAN



TOLENTINO



MILAN, etc.



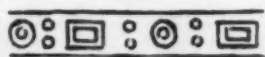
ANCONA, VERONA



MILAN, PARIS



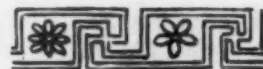
ASIATIC SARCOPHAGUS
SARDIS A



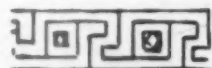
PARIS 510



MUSHENNEF



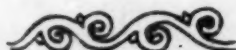
SHAKKA



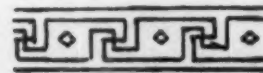
RABULA GOSPEL



DIOSCURIDES OF
VIENNA



BERLIN FRAGMENT



ETSCHMIADZIN
GOSPELS

FIG. 36 — Comparative Chart of City-Gate Sarcophagi and Asiatic Ornament.

The general all-over pattern and two dimensional effect are important characteristics. The use of a single plane, a definitely limited background allowing scarcely room for the figures to exist in space, a general disregard of reality, one figure standing on the feet of the next, are merely significant expressions of the Oriental desire for pattern rather than realism and the preference for the play of light and dark rather than the illusion of form.

This same lack of logic when rendering form is seen in the way the entablature is turned inwards and becomes concave to make room for the head which is relieved against it. This peculiar handling which, as I have mentioned before, occurs nowhere else in the early history of mediaeval ornament, is found on numerous Asiatic sarcophagi. The famous Sidamara sarcophagus shows it and other examples are: Melfi⁷⁶, Selefkeh in Constantinople, the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina, Rome D of the Colonna Gardens, Altyntash, Denizli A and B (Fig. 31) both in the Louvre, Konieh, the Cook sarcophagus at Richmond, Rome A of the British Museum and Rome E of the Borghese. It appears in the city-gate group on the front of Paris, on the back of Milan, on Ancona, Aix, and Moutier-Saint-Jean. The arch above the head is rarer but is found on the front of Milan, on Rome I and Verona. In both cases, however, the city wall arcade is interrupted and the entablature or arch is put in the center with no attempt to connect it or to make it logical. It is obviously a studio tradition that is carried on. Even on the unarchitectural front of Rome I where vines replace the city wall the arch is retained to emphasize the central figure of Christ. There is no possible explanation of this solecism save as a survival of Asiatic practice.

The ornamental *motifs* while not conclusive in themselves afford useful corroborative evidence. Examination shows they are more common in the east than in the west. Fig. 36 is a comparative chart of the ornament of the city-gate sarcophagi and *motifs* taken from Asiatic or Syrian monuments. The pilaster decorated with the rinceau is unusual in Rome but appears again and again in the works of the less logical and more coloristic East. In spite of the popularity of the twisted column on the Asiatic sarcophagi it is replaced by the decorated pilaster on two of the Asiatic series, Rome J. (now in the British museum) and on Sainte-Marie-du-Zit in the Musee Alaoui, Tunis⁷⁷. Of the many examples on Syrian churches I have taken one from Kanawât⁷⁸; a simple *rinceau*, more like the one at Tolentino, runs up a pilaster in the Rabula Gospel and also in this⁷⁹, we find a *guilloche* and a crenellated design suggestive of those used on the sarcophagus of Ancona. The significance of this is the unarchitectural treatment of the pilaster not as a supporting member, but as affording a place for ornament. The spirally fluted columns are characteristic throughout the type; while not exclusively

display « eine in sich geschlossene in der Grundform des Monumentes, in den stilistischen Details, und in der Ikonographie übereinstimmende Einheit »; I think that the present study at least has shown that they are not homogeneous either in composition, details of style, or iconography. The thesis of exclusively Roman derivation of the columnar types rests upon the appearance in them of the « Roman » motifs of the *manuum junctio*, the inverted conch, composite capital, *parapetasmata*, un-colonnaded sides, and plain backs. Yet every one of these features may be found in examples of the Asiatic series, with the exception of the inverted conch, with which I have dealt elsewhere as a

very natural change to meet the taste of a Latin market, just as Roman usage undoubtedly had most to do with the introduction of the couch lid upon the earlier Asiatic sarcophagi. The difficulties of Rodenwaldt's generalization emerge in his conclusion regarding the type with horizontal entablature, which he admits must have been imitated from a Greek, « or hitherto unknown Roman type! ».

76. The names are those of Professor Morey's book, *op. cit.*, where plates will also be found.

77. Morey, *op. cit.*, fig. 90 and 95.

78. H. C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, p. 360.

79. Garr., III, 130, 2; 137, 1; 131, 1.

Asiatic they are also a regular feature of Asiatic sarcophagi as well as other innumerable monuments from the East.

The half palmette used as an acroterion is found frequently on Asiatic sarcophagi and it is thus we find it used at Ancona and Tolentino. I have drawn one example from a fragment in the Louvre found at Sardis, and of Lydian technique⁸⁰. From Mschatta⁸¹ I have taken the saw-tooth acanthus.

Other *motifs* such as the interrupted meander or swastika alternating with a rosette, appeared on certain examples of our group. This pattern is a common Greek theme and is prevalent all over the East, while it is rare in Italy except on monuments showing direct Greek influence. I have drawn two examples from Syrian buildings of the second and third centuries A. D.; one from Shakka⁸² and the other from the temple at Mushennef⁸³, but many others might be cited. It is interesting to find the same interrupted meander in the Rabula⁸⁴ and Etschmiadzin Gospels⁸⁵. The undulating ribbon pattern is a common feature of the type and, evidently derived from the broken-down leaf and dart, tends to show how far we have come from classical ornament. The floral *rincean* is too prevalent to be of much value in an argument, but it is interesting to note comparisons in the East both to the heavy *rincean* with rosettes of Milan and the slighter leaflike ones. The close similarity of the decoration of the Berlin fragment with the *rinceanx* of Ancona and Verona should be noticed. A band of alternating oblongs and circles, suggestive of a *cabochon* or jeweled border, is found on the top of the trough at Ancona. It reminds one of the jewelled borders of many Eastern manuscripts, one of which I have drawn, from a page of « Paris 510 »⁸⁶.

The decadent acanthus is another feature to be noted as it is the same coloristic break-down of the clear-cut sculptured form that we find carried to an extreme at Mschatta. Even the crenellations of the walls are a favorite decoration with the artists of Syrian manuscripts.

Aside from these general *motifs* there are, moreover, peculiar technical tricks that afford us valuable clues. In the *rinceanx* of the bases of both the Milan and Paris sarcophagi a good photograph shows that the leaf that covers the stem is flattened out and undulates in outline and swells at one end, the whole much resembling a string-bean. It is punched at intervals with drill holes in a meaningless fashion. This same strange technique appears in the East, on the Sidamara sarcophagus itself and on seven others⁸⁷, all of Lydian technique. A fragment in the Louvre from Denizli (Fig. 31) illustrates to perfection the peculiar swelling at the corner and the senseless drill holes. Nor is it limited to the sarcophagi for we find it on the Church of Djumanüm Djamisi⁸⁸, in Cappadocia, ascribed by Rott to the fifth century.

80. Morey, *op. cit.*, fig. 60, Sardis A.

81. J. Strzygowski, *Mschatta*, *Jb. Pr. Kunsts.*, XXV, 1904, fig. 55.

82. Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

84. Garr., III, 135, 2.

85. Strzygowski, *Byz. Denk.*, I, pl. III. Although the manuscript is written in Armenian, the miniatures are on separate leaves and are generally recognized as of Syrian origin of the sixth century.

86. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV, fol. 149, see also the jewelled Cross on pl. XVIII, fol. c.

87. Asiatic sarcophagi; Claudia Antonia Sabina, Sardis; Denizli A and B, Louvre; Melfi; Vienna; Torre Nova A; Rome G, Palace Torlonia; Morey, *op. cit.*, fig. 12, 13, 26, 27, 39-41, 71, 75, 84 and the Sidamara sarcophagus, fig. 67.

88. *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler, Studien über Christliche Denkmäler*, vol. 5, 6, pl. 13, 14. Possibly this is an older bit of entablature reused.

The saw-tooth edge of the acanthus is a feature appearing on the bottom of the pilaster at Milan. The leaves come out at an angle in contrast to the long upright lines of Roman acanthus, while the edge of the leaf is a sharp zigzag suggesting a saw-tooth. We find this technique on the capitals of many eastern temples and churches as cited by Weigand⁸⁹: at Pergamon, Damascus, Baalbek, Is-Sanamen, Bethlehem, Cairo, Spalato, and the Golden Gate at Constantinople: on many sarcophagi of Lydian technique, and finally on the Berlin Fragment (Fig. 49). The sharp cutting of the edges is here as at Milan, done with a drill. This technique is, I believe, predominantly eastern. Outside of Ravenna and churches with definite eastern connections, it is unusual in the West.

Aside from the general shape and architectural scheme that ally our group with Asia Minor we find many of the motifs mentioned above are Asiatic while a number are of specifically Syrian origin. The concave entablature particularly with heads relieved against it, the spiral colonnette, the half palmette used as acroterion, but most important of all the « string-bean » technique and the saw-tooth acanthus, are all primarily Asiatic and some of them exclusively so; while the patterned treatment of the pilasters, the swastika and rosette, *rincaux*, *cabochon*, and coloristic acanthus are predominantly eastern.

Nor are the iconography and ornament the only proofs of Asiatic connections. The figure style of columnar sarcophagi is a puzzling matter, as the group covers many diverse examples and many of later date and obviously mixed influences. If we take, however, sarcophagi of the pure city-gate type and compare them with the earlier and better examples of other divisions of the columnar, a style can be defined that is quite distinct from the majority of Latin frieze sarcophagi. The Asiatic style as I shall henceforth call the figure style that appears on this group, is descended like the Latin from the Hellenistic tradition and both styles therefore use classical formulae. The Asiatic, derived from the Neo-Attic, is distinctly limited, however, to a few stock poses and uses the same formulae over and over again. It is extremely awkward when by any chance the figure must be placed in any novel position. The Latin style, on the other hand, has been modified by an illusionistic tradition and treats the figure with much greater freedom and variety of pose but it can become in the hands of a poor workman far baser than any Asiatic work since the Latin lacks the sound if conventional formula of the Greek and is singularly devoid of a sense of decorative beauty. It is decorative beauty rather than the illusion of life that the Asiatic artist is seeking above all else. His sculpture is two dimensional always and shows a rhythmical repetition.

The fragment of a five arch sarcophagus from Sta. Pudenziana, now in the Lateran⁹⁰ (Fig. 37) shows the style to advantage in its classical pose and slow movement. The faces are seldom fully in profile or full face but give the impression of a sidewise glance. The proportions, on the whole, are squat and the head is too large for the body. The joints, shoulder, thigh and knee, are emphasized while the drapery is treated in a summary and simplified manner, with long, rather straight folds. The drill is used on these

89. E. Weigand, *Das Goldene Tor in Konstantinopel*, *Abh. Mitt.*, 39, 1914; *Baalbek und Rom*, *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, XXIX, 1914.

90. Grousset, *op. cit.*, no. 147; G. Schneider-Graziosi,

N. Bull. arch. crist., XIX, 1913, p. 132, fig. 1. I am indebted to Monsignor Wilpert for this photograph and one that follows (fig. 40) as well as for the detail of Rome I, (fig. 18).



FIG. 37 — Rome, Lateran: Fragment of Sarcophagus from Sta. Pudenziana (Photo Sansaini).



FIG. 38 — Rome, Lateran: Sarcophagus Front (Photo Alinari).



FIG. 39 — Rome, Lateran: Sarcophagus of the Two Brothers (Photo Anderson).

to increase the shadow but in the best examples the folds are modelled as well. The head, however, is the most characteristic part. It is generally of a decidedly triangular shape with a heavy bulbous top. The nose is prominent but the other features are not deeply incised. There are three modes of treating the hair; perhaps the most characteristic fashion gives somewhat the impression of a cap. Around the face is a series of scallops, made with the drill, probably meant to indicate ringlets, while the top of the head is covered with neat parallel strokes of the chisel. Another manner we see used commonly for Christ, long hair that curls out at the shoulder and is punched with drill holes with no special modelling of individual locks. This treatment we see on the front of Ancona (Fig. 9) of Paris (Fig. 1), on a fragment of the mixed type in the Lateran⁹¹ (Fig. 40) and on the center of Rome I (Fig. 18). A third type has a tight triangular beard which is entirely covered with drill holes as well as the whole top of the head (see the saint next to Abraham on the Milan end, Fig. 4). On none of these is an effort made to indicate locks of hair and place the drill holes logically in the center of a curl. The eyes show the characteristic technique, for we get the phenomenon of a large full face eye even when the pose is almost profile. This is usually out of proportion to the size of the face and is punctured in the pupil by a drill hole. It is this of course, primarily, that gives the peculiar sidelong glance. The ear is much too large and is placed quite high, the nose is long and aquiline while the mouth is small and pouting. The pose with the head bent forward and the weight on one foot is a classical formula characteristic throughout the type.

Contrasting this style with a typical frieze sarcophagus⁹², (Fig. 38) the difference is at once obvious. Instead of a flat and decorative effect an attempt is here made to render space and the different planes suggest an extensive crowd. This, it will be remembered, is an illusionistic element that I mentioned in my introduction as distinguishing Roman work from the definite and limited architectural background of Asiatic tradition. Crude as the style of this sarcophagus is, the pose is more varied and many more attitudes are attempted. The figures are slimmer but especially important is the difference in the shape of the head. Here it is more of an oval while the forehead is higher and wider. The hair is distinctly treated in curls and while the drill is used, it is with more logic and to help make clear the modelling. This is usually the case although on some Latin examples we find a promiscuous use of the drillholes. Nowhere however, outside of the Asiatic style have I found the flaked top with the border of drill curls around the face. The hair here, moreover, even when long, comes down in a straight line and curls inward rather than outward at the bottom. The eye while large is modelled and the pupil is not drilled in its center. This holds, I believe, for all Latin sarcophagi although they use the drill at the corners of the eyes. The drapery also while drilled, even in the photograph, gives an entirely different impression from the Asiatic. Much more complicated than the latter, there is here a preference for short circular lines which give a weak curvilinear effect in contrast to the decisive straightness of the Asiatic folds.

91. Garr., V, 331, 2; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, 1.

92. Garr., V, 318, 1; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, pl. XX, 7. Only the heads at the right are, I believe, original.

This is an extreme example and frieze sarcophagi are of varying skill, but a few characteristics seem to hold for all, viz.; the short and circular folds of drapery, the hair curling in locks, and eyes drilled only at the corners. On the other hand the peculiar shape of the heads, the flaked and cap-like technique for hair, the full face eye with the deeply drilled pupil and the long straight drapery are found only in the Asiatic style.

To take another Latin example and one of infinitely better technique, let us turn to the sarcophagus of the Two Brothers in the Lateran⁹³ (Fig. 39). I have already cited it (note 55) as an example of mixed iconography and there seems good evidence that this is a copy of a double register columnar sarcophagus, as we have the scene of Christ before Pilate wherein the copyist has omitted the figure of Christ. The style however like that of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus is Latin, if only in the abandon of the Pilate and the easy way in which he crosses his feet. An Asiatic artist would be at a loss to represent such a posture, for it did not belong to his formulae. The variety of the heads, the contrasting poses, the better rendering of the drapery which is in circular folds, however, all indicate other than an Asiatic atelier and none of the Asiatic characteristics are present. The hair in no case resembles that of our group while the eyes distinctly give an impression of profile with their drill holes at the corner.

That the Asiatic style did not confine itself entirely to columnar sarcophagi nor the Latin style solely to those of the frieze variety but that an intermixture took place as one would expect with the two styles working side by side, is shown by such examples as the famous Junius Bassus sarcophagus⁹⁴ of the Crypt of St. Peter's and the equally well-known sarcophagus⁹⁵ of the Lateran with the vintage scene and three Shepherds standing on pedestals. In the former although the columnar divisions remain, the style shows few Asiatic characteristics but is much more closely akin to that of the Two Brothers sarcophagus. Asiatic features still linger in the ornament as Latin workmen had nothing to copy from in that respect on frieze sarcophagi. The iconography however, shows a western trend as Isaac kneels on the ground and both Adam and Eve and Daniel with the lions are represented. The Lateran sarcophagus, on the other hand, while without an architectural background, is covered by a vine that distinctly limits the space behind and reduces it to a single plane. One scene only is represented, of putti occupied with the vintage, and against this the three Good Shepherds are repeated in rhythmic intervals. We are not surprised therefore to find both the figure style and the ornament showing Asiatic workmanship. The little sarcophagus of Christ and the twelve apostles and as many lambs, also in the Lateran⁹⁶, falls into the same class. In its two dimensional composition, classical elimination of space, and rhythmical repetition of a few poses it follows as closely the eastern Neo-Attic tradition as anything well could. It thus is to be expected that on this sarcophagus we find the typical figure style we have noted; the triangular bulging heads, caplike hair with a border of scallops, the long hair curling out at the shoulder, the punctured eye and the long straight folds of drapery. It is by a two dimensional composition

93. Garr., V, 358, 3; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, 4.

94. Garr., V, 322, 2-4.

95. Garr., V, 302, 2-5; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII, 2.

96. Garr., V, 304, 4; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX, 3.



FIG. 40 — Rome, Lateran: Fragment of Sarcophagus Front (Photo Sansaini).



FIG. 41 — Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Codex Sinopensis, The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes.



FIG. 42 — Rossano, Cathedral: Codex Rossanensis, The Entry into Jerusalem.



FIG. 43 — Paris, Bibl. Nat.: MS. Syr. 341, Joel.

and flat pattern, therefore, as well as by an architectural background that one must hope to distinguish the Asiatic compositions.

Having isolated the style that appears on our sarcophagi, let us now see how closely it can be paralleled in the East. I have already cited some Asiatic manuscripts for iconography because although themselves dating from the sixth century or later they are probably copies of older works. If this is true of the iconography it is also true of the figure style although here we would expect greater change and a growing conventionality. The Codex Rossanensis⁹⁷ shows the same two-dimensional composition and desire to spread out the scene, coupled with an inability to render a crowd in perspective going back into the distance. This is clearly illustrated by the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 42) as the artist has placed the palms behind definitely to limit his crowd. The slow awkward movement is also apparent and the pose of Peter should be compared with those of the apostles on the front of Ancona. The same rhythmical repetition and slow moving procession appears in the scene of the Distribution of Wine while the common Rossanensis formula for Christ—a pose with the weight on one foot and the other dragging behind, the head slightly bent forward and the right arm crossing the body—which occurs throughout the manuscript but is best seen in the Raising of Lazarus is almost duplicated on the Lateran Bethesda sarcophagus (Fig. 34).

In common also with that sarcophagus our next manuscript, the Codex Sinopensis⁹⁸, in the scene of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes (Fig. 41) shows the same attempt to avoid depth by placing one row of figures on top of the other. The figure style also provides close parallels. The heads are of a strange triangular shape, bulging at the top, probably owing to the effort of the artist to show the depth of the head on a flat surface without perspective. The pointed V-shaped face and large eyes are noteworthy in the figure of Moses and in several of the disciples. Christ is bearded, while His hair, outlined clearly against the nimbus, flows to His shoulders and curls out at the bottom in the same manner that we have seen on our sarcophagi. The common formula used for Peter we have already noted. Here, as in the Rossanensis Christ, we have the slow dragging foot and the head in three-quarters pose. The small drooping moustache, the large ear, the big full-faced eye, the bulging forehead and the scalloped border of the hair, differentiated in color from that of the cranium, are important characteristics that repeat the peculiarities of our sarcophagi. Compare Peter with Moses on the left end of Ancona (Fig. 10) or with the second apostle in Fig. 37, or compare the apostle on the left hand of Christ with Abraham on the same Ancona end, and the community of style is at once apparent.

Another excellent comparison for our style is from a third Asiatic manuscript, Paris Syriac 341⁹⁹. Any of the figures of prophets here represented show the style, but that of Joel (Fig. 43) especially should be placed beside the Abraham of the left end of Milan (Fig. 4). Note the pose, the attempt to foreshorten the lower right leg, the emphasis on the knee, the long simple lines of drapery, and the silhouette of the

97. Muñoz, *op. cit.*

98. *Ibid.*, pl. A, B; *Mém. Piot*, vol. VII, pl. XVI-XIX.

99. *Mém. Piot*, vol. XVII, pl. V-IX.

figure. This also shows to advantage the scalloping of the hair, the large eyes with emphasis on the pupil, the heavy nose, and short straight mouth. The Abraham on the end of the Milan sarcophagus, seems almost to be the prototype of the painted figure. Obviously the two artists were using the same formula for the human figure, a studio tradition handed down in Asiatic workshops¹⁰⁰.

The similarities are so striking that it seems to me we have the efforts to render upon a flat surface precisely the same figure style we see in stone on our sarcophagi. That it is a style peculiar to the East and not common to all painting of the period becomes obvious when we search for it in vain among the frescoes of the catacombs.

If we turn to sculpture unfortunately we find outside the sarcophagi very few monuments with figure style in the East. The Oriental desire for color, for the play of light and dark in infinite pattern, found in painting its true expression and tended when forced to use stone to cover it entirely with small, delicate and extremely complex designs, as upon the façade of Mschatta. The checkered history of the Eastern countries, the Mohammedan conquest of Asia Minor, Constantinople, and Greece itself makes the survival of any Christian sculptured monument to our day, a piece of rare good fortune. A few fragments, however, have come down to us and are now gathered carefully in museums, and we have a few secular remains such as the base of the obelisk of Theodosius I in Constantinople¹⁰¹. Thus, dated securely for us in the last quarter of the fourth century, it forms an excellent comparison with the style of our sarcophagi (Fig. 44). The reduction of the composition to virtually one plane and its avoidance of space, the rhythmical repetition and all over pattern as well as the more concrete details of the bulbous tops of the heads, and scalloped borders of the hair vividly recall the figure style of city-gate sarcophagi¹⁰².

There are also several fragments in the Museum of Constantinople that are interesting for our study. The first¹⁰³ is a relief showing the bodies of four men (Fig. 45). They have been called St. Peter and three apostles by Mendel in his Catalogue and there seems to be some evidence that they are Christian aside from the fact that they were found in the ruins of a Byzantine church. We have no clue about their date beyond the obvious way in which the figures retain the classic formula. The similarity in proportions and pose to the figures on the right end of Milan (Fig. 4) is apparent but the comparison cannot be pressed very far since the heads are lacking.

A second and this time undoubtedly Christian relief is the one of the Entry into Jerusalem from the church of St. John Studion¹⁰⁴ (Fig. 46). This has been grouped with two other reliefs found with it (no. 668 and 670) but which show a different and, I believe, later style. This difference is acknowledged by Pantchenko who discovered them and who is quoted in Mendel's Catalogue¹⁰⁵, but he still believes them to

100. Paris, MS. Syriac 33 and the Rabula Gospel also present the same figure style. In the latter manuscript especially the standing figures of Mark and Luke (Garr., III, 136, 1) afford excellent comparisons.

101. Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 83; Wulff, *Altchrist. u. Byz. Kunst*, pl. XII, 1.

102. A pedestal for a similar monument now in the Ottoman Museum of Constantinople, (photo. Sebah and

Joaillier, no. 2755) shows the same style, and although it is without doubt somewhat later in date, indicates that such compositions were frequent in Constantinople in the early centuries of Christianity.

103. Mendel, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 535, no. 1328.

104. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 456, no. 669.

105. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 461, *Note sur les Reliefs d'Imrabor Djamissi*.

FIG. 44 — *Constantinople: Pedestal of Obelisk of Theodosius I, North Face (Photo Sebah et Joaillier).*



FIG. 45 — *Constantinople, Ottoman Museum: Marble Relief (Photo Sebah et Joaillier).*

FIG. 46 — *Constantinople, Ottoman Museum: Relief from St. John Studion (Photo Sebah et Joaillier).*



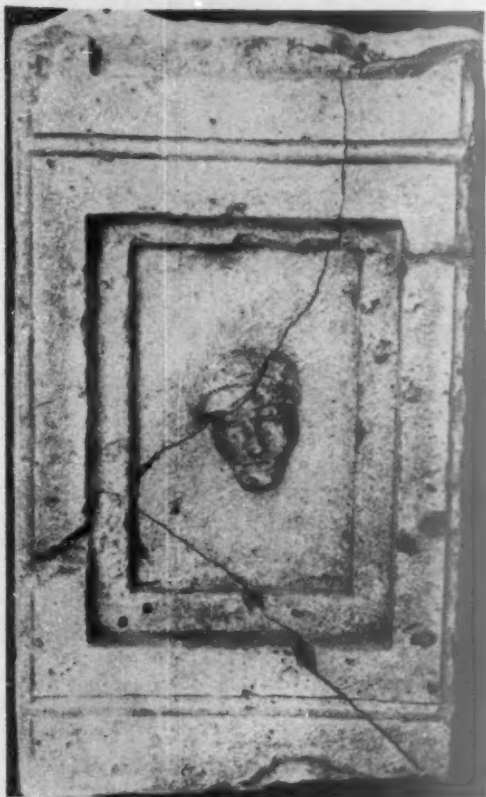


FIG. 47 — Constantinople, Ottoman Museum:
Relief (Photo Sebah et Joaillier).



FIG. 48 — Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg:
Grave Relief from Palmyra.



FIG. 49 — Berlin, Museum: Fragment of Sarcophagus
from Constantinople.



FIG. 50 — Berlin, Museum: Relief from the
Neighborhood of Sinope.

be part of the same monument though copied from earlier and varying reliefs. The original of the Entry he places in the fourth century as the style, proportions, and composition would indicate as well as the absence of nimbus. The obvious explanation, however, seems to me to be that the plaques did not belong together but were collected at a later date to roof the vault where they were found and that the Entry is probably an original work. The extreme crudity of style, the poor proportions and awkward articulation of the figures render it improbable that even a poor artist could have made them in the same city and at the same date as the Theodosius base and they look to me like the fifth century degeneration of the style as we find it in our Gallic examples. That the style was in its original elements the same is indicated by the bulbous shape of the head, the large full-face eye, and high placed ear, and the flaked hair with a scalloped border around the face (compare Rome III, Fig. 22 and Lateran Fig. 40). The hair of the Christ is also long and curls out at the shoulder. The fact that He is without a beard connects Him with the Berlin fragment and the later and mixed examples of our group. The same disjointed effect of the man with the cloak in front of Christ is repeated in the soldier arresting Peter in the Lateran fragment (Fig. 40) but the Studion relief is flatter than any of our sarcophagi and the foreshortening of the head is left even less to the natural modelling of the stone; the shape is continued upward as we found in the manuscripts. Even later in date would I place the other Studion relief of the apostles (no. 670) and with it the fragment from Edirné capoussou¹⁰⁶ (no. 672) probably of a miracle scene. These alike in proportions, survival of classical pose, and treatment of the hair show the style, though with further degeneration. A mysterious monument (Fig. 47) in the Constantinople museum¹⁰⁷ exactly presents the type of head we have noted in our analysis. The triangular shaped head and face, the notched border of the hair giving a caplike effect, large almond-shaped eyes with emphasis on the pupils, heavy long nose and straight mouth, reproduce strikingly the elements of the Asiatic style.

Nor was the style confined to Constantinople. The relief from Sinope¹⁰⁸ (Fig. 50) now in the Museum of Berlin, has been already cited as an example of Peter carrying the cross. There is nothing to date it definitely though Wulff has ascribed it, on what grounds I have not been able to discover, to the fifth or sixth century. I should be inclined to place it earlier and nearer the date of the Berlin fragment on the evidence of its style. The border also compares with the Studion fragment of the Entry; but from the superiority in execution, however, to the latter, I would attribute it both to a somewhat earlier date and a different center; viz. Asia Minor. In the Sinope relief we closely approximate our style. The rather flat figure, the awkward movement and inclined head of the man on the left, and the manner in which he stands or more truly does not stand on his feet, suggest immediately the unnatural gait of Peter in the scene of his arrest on the Lateran fragment (Fig. 40). The hair and beard inclose the face with the same hard line, the eyes are full-face and punctured in the center, while the drapery shows a summary treatment, with long parallel lines.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 471.

¹⁰⁷ Photo. Sebah and Joaillier, no. 2097.

¹⁰⁸ See footnote no. 58.

The majority of the pagan Asiatic sarcophagi belong to the second and third centuries and are so much closer to the classical and Hellenistic style and so incomparably superior to ours that comparison is of no value. Choosing the one latest in date, however, the Berlin fragment (Fig. 49) to which I have so often alluded, a work probably of the fourth or fifth century¹⁰⁹, and the only Christian example of the group, we see much resemblance. The general proportions are the same as those of Ancona, the pose and the slight sway of the figure show the same classical formula. The long sweeping drapery and heavy oval of the face are suggestive of Milan. The features unfortunately are too mutilated to afford material for argument but the hair shows the drilled scallop. The evidence as far as it goes is thus all for a common origin for the city-gate sarcophagi and the relief of Berlin.

How very quickly the original Asiatic style stratifies where Hellenistic influence is least strong is significantly shown by the Palmyra busts and grave stelae. This numerous series of monuments can be dated with certainty as many of them bear inscriptions none of which are later than 273 A. D., when the Emperor Aurelian destroyed the city. The stela of Jarhai and his son¹¹⁰ (Fig. 48) is a typical one and shows many of the Asiatic peculiarities we have noted but they are already exaggerated and stylized. The bodies are squat and slight and the heads are even larger in proportion than any we have heretofore noted. The hair is separated from the face by a hard line and suggests a cap, the eyes are large and almond-like while the heads are of a distinctly triangular shape. On the whole, this group forms the most eastern branch of the style, still retaining its fundamental elements of large head and emphasized features, full faced eye and straight long folds of drapery, but here so divorced from any pretence to form or classic grace that the effect is summary in the extreme and shows to what extremes of simplification Asiatic style may come when undisturbed by Hellenistic form.

I hope that this paper has shown that the city-gate sarcophagi form a distinct group by themselves, so closely allied one to another in iconography, style and ornament that the purest examples must needs have come from the same atelier. They are, however, but one group of a much larger family, the columnar sarcophagi, and these when uncontaminated by outside influence show an Asiatic tradition distinct from that of the Latin frieze sarcophagi. The favorite scenes of the columnar do not appear on the frieze sarcophagi but find parallels in Asiatic works of art. The ornament in its ensemble is foreign to the west but is common on Syrian and Asiatic monuments, while the figure style can be isolated from that of contemporary sculpture in Rome but shows close affinity with the manuscripts, reliefs and sarcophagi of the East.

Directly continuing the usage of the Asiatic sarcophagi of the second and third centuries, are the high cubical shape, four sided decoration, and architectural or limited background with all the figures placed in a single plane. The ornamented podium, spiral colonnette, string-bean technique, and the concave entablature with a head relieved

109. Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 30, 79.

110. D. Simonsen, *Sculptures et Inscriptions de Palmyre*, pl. I; Wulff, *Altchrist. u. Byz. Kunst.*, fig. 123.

against it are direct survivals of Eastern atelier tradition, while the most significant changes in the decoration are explained by the Berlin fragment, which as the last member of the original Asiatic series shows that the Asiatic ateliers had already omitted the conch and were imitating the Roman composite capital. On the other hand it still retains the saw-tooth acanthus and shows affinity with the figure style of our sarcophagi. There seems then to be but one conclusion; that the nucleus of the city-gate group and probably a large number of the columnar sarcophagi as well, whether made in Italy or imported¹¹¹, were sculptured by Asiatic workmen, who had strongly in mind the traditions of their parent workshops in the East.

111. This problem as I have mentioned before is one I can not endeavor to settle. If the sarcophagi were themselves imported from the East we would expect to find some examples of them there and although one might answer that much has been destroyed, yet it would seem probable that at least a few examples would be found beside the Berlin fragment. It is to be noted, however, that the numerous sarcophagi depicted in the miniatures of the *Menologium* of Basil II are frequently columnar. The Berlin fragment is closer to the pagan Asiatic type than

any Christian sarcophagus found in the West, in the use of impost blocks, coloristic technique, etc. etc. Our sarcophagi were in any case made for the western market and it seems probable to me that they were actually manufactured somewhere in Italy and exported from there or possibly that the workmen travelled. Certain Asiatic groups of the columnar sarcophagi may even be found to center at Arles although this does not hold for the city-gate type.



FIG. 1 — Rome, *S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura*: *Front of Sarcophagus in the Porch.*

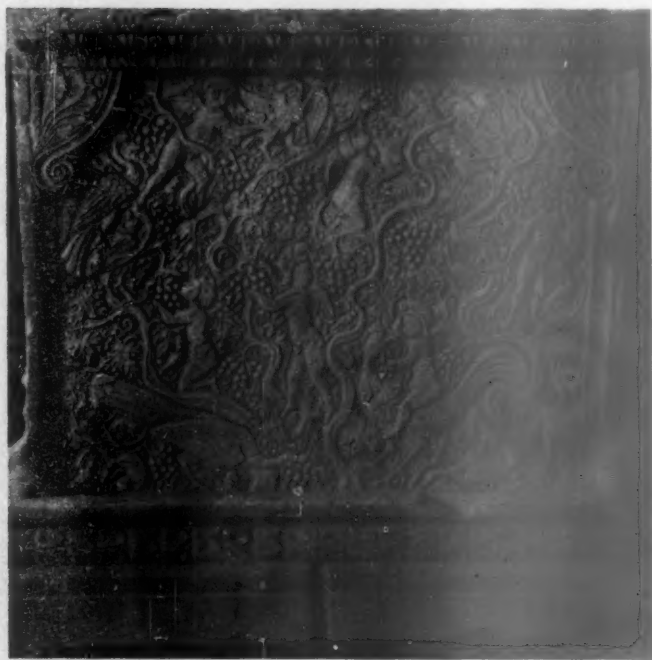


FIG. 2 — Rome, *S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura*:
Right Lateral Face of Sarcophagus.



FIG. 3 — Rome, *S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura*:
Left Lateral Face of Sarcophagus.

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF SAN LORENZO¹

By FRANCIS HENRY TAYLOR

TO the left of the entrance portal of the church of S. Lorenzo *fuori le mura* in Rome, and forming the most conspicuous object in its porch, is a sarcophagus of which the front and the two ends are reproduced in Figs. 1, 2, 3.

The monument is now set so close against the wall that it is impossible to secure a good photograph of the posterior face, whose decoration, however, though only blocked out and unfinished, is of the same character as that of the front and ends.

The sarcophagus for nearly a century has passed as a prime example of fourth century Christian art, and was consecrated as such by being included in Garrucci's *Storia dell'arte cristiana*², where the earlier bibliography concerning it may be found. Of late it has again engaged the attention of archaeologists, in consequence of the growing interest in late antique style, of which Weigand and Rodenwaldt have discovered in it an intriguing example.

In the course of a discussion of the well-known sarcophagus of Salona, in an article contributed to *Strena Buliciana*³ entitled *Die Stellung Dalmatiens in der roemischen Reichskunst*, Weigand reproduces the front of the sarcophagus, brackets it with Lateran No. 183 (Fig. 4), by reason of the community of subject matter, and attributes both to an Attic atelier. He bases this attribution on the character of the Lesbian cymation appearing on the S. Lorenzo sarcophagus, and its resemblance to a strigil-sarcophagus in Athens itself, in the Ceramicus; the Attic origin of the Lateran example is proved according to him by the pedestals on which the shepherds stand, and the base moulding. The discrepancy between the date of the Lateran sarcophagus, the latter half of the fourth century, and that of the Dipylon monument which could hardly be put later than the second, has not troubled Weigand, and his opinion is cited without disagreement by Rodenwaldt⁴, who further pronounces our sarcophagus, with the exception of the porphyry sarcophagi from Egypt, the « only imported piece » among the Roman sarcophagi of the fourth century.

In spite of the apparent discrepancy in date, there can be no question of the close relation of the S. Lorenzo monument with the sarcophagus of the Dipylon cemetery in Athens, and the fairly numerous group it represents. The members of the group are not enumerated either by Weigand or Rodenwaldt, but are quite accessible, and bear out the attribution to an Athenian atelier by reason of the preponderance of Athenian provenance in the list. The group may be listed as follows:

1. I wish to express my thanks to Mr. John Donald Tuttle, for the photographs of the San Lorenzo sarcophagus. To Mr. Thomas Wharton I am indebted for the photograph of the sarcophagus at Salerno.

2. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, Pl. 307, 7-4.

3. *Strena Buliciana*, 1924, pp. 103 ff.

4. *Mitt. Arch. Inst., Röm. Abt.*, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1923-1924, p. 36.

1. No. 1479 in the National Museum at Athens (Figs. 5 and 6).
2. The example in the Ceramicus at Athens mentioned by Weigand.
3. No. 1498 in the National Museum at Athens.
4. Fragmentary lid in the courtyard of the National Museum at Athens.
5. Fragments of another lid in the same place.
6. A mutilated lid in the courtyard of the museum at Sparta.
7. Salerno, S. Matteo; narthex.
8. The sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo.

The example in the National Museum at Athens illustrated in Figs. 5 and 6 is the most complete member of the series. It retains the figure of the deceased reclining on the couch lid which is absent from the example in the Dipylon cemetery, and displays the full repertory of ornament which is met with in the other members of the series. The most conspicuous element in this repertory is the pilaster ending in a lion's paw which gives the architectural framing to the front, and follows therein, as Weigand pointed out, an established Athenian usage. The *motif* itself is familiar to us in late Hellenistic examples, and is particularly frequent in its employment as a table leg in Pompeian furniture⁵. The block at the top of the pilaster in the example in the Athens Museum is figured, while on the sarcophagi of the Ceramicus and S. Lorenzo it is decorated with three discs; these are repeated in the band above the lion's paw in the latter pair, while the sarcophagus of Figs. 5 and 6 shows at this point two rosettes.

The flat moulding at the top of the trough is decorated with a confusion of rosettes and *rincaux*, followed below by a *cyma recta* decorated with a very much foliated Lesbian cymation which contrasts very strongly with the sharp simplicity of the moulding on the Ceramicus and S. Lorenzo examples. The face and sides of the sarcophagus are decorated with strigils, but the back is carved with a vine design which however bears no relation in its simplicity and economy to the elaborate decoration of S. Lorenzo. At the bottom of front and ends the Lesbian cymation is repeated in inverted form, and the same is done with the simpler leaf and dart of the Ceramicus sarcophagus, while at S. Lorenzo this moulding is lacking entirely,—a point of importance to which we shall have occasion to return.

The couch-lid is of the usual Attic sort, and we find a specific Attic feature on its ends, in the three oblong compartments decorated each with a lozenge inclosing a rosette, and with a rosette in each corner of the compartment. This is also the ornament found on the end of the couch of the sarcophagus in front of the museum at Delphi, of distinctive Attic workmanship, and it is found throughout our series wherever a lid or fragment thereof exists,—on the Ceramicus and the National Museum sarcophagi, and the fragments numbered 4, 5, and 6 in our list. On the end of the example in the National Museum appears another characteristic feature in the consoles terminating in volutes and decorated with birds or animals, or with a palmette. These again are found on the sarcophagus of the Dipylon cemetery and that of S. Lorenzo.

5. Pompeii: *Casa del Conte di Torino*; *Casa di Vesonio Primo*; *Casa di Lucrezio Frontone*.



FIG. 4 — *Rome, Lateran: Front of Sarcophagus No. 183.*



FIG. 5 — *Athens, National Museum: Front of Sarcophagus.*

The podium of the Ceramicus sarcophagus is decorated with two plain fillets above and below, with a garland of leaves and berries between; so also is the front of the sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo, as well as its right lateral face; with the decoration of the other lateral face we shall have to do later. In the sarcophagus of the National Museum the fillets are adorned with a dentil row above and *rincaux* below.

The comparisons which we have made indicate in a rough way the evolution of the series in point of time. The ornament is so much simpler, purer, and stronger, on the examples of the Ceramicus and of S. Lorenzo that they must both antedate the sarcophagus of the National Museum illustrated in Figs. 5 and 6. They also correspond in general with the style of Attic sarcophagi of the second century. The shallow cutting of the Lesbian cymation on the sarcophagus of the National Museum, and its foliation, agree with the type of the portrait head of the reclining figure of the deceased on the lid, in pointing to a later date, while the developed ornament of its podium makes it certain that it is to be dated later than the sarcophagi of the Ceramicus and of S. Lorenzo. The composition of the Salerno example, with its double register of strigils separated by a guilloche, and their symmetrical opposition of curve to right and left, indicates a date for this member at least as late as the third century. In the middle of each of its pilasters a stemma was carved in the Renaissance.

The unfinished condition of the other example in the National Museum at Athens (No. 3 in our list) makes it nearly useless in this connection, but it is of value in the matter of provenance, having been found in February of 1926 near the University in Athens. Its fellow in the Museum which we have been describing was found also in Athens near the Stadium, and from Athens also came the fragmentary lids in the courtyard of the Museum⁶. The attribution of the group to Athens is thus entirely sustained. But it is also clear, from the existence of the fragment in the courtyard of the museum at Sparta, and particularly from the troughs of Salerno and S. Lorenzo, that the ateliers that made the sarcophagi also manufactured for export, and especially export to Italy.

It is clear, furthermore, that the sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo belongs to the group, and is an early example thereof, dating so far as we can tell from the ornamental *motifs* we have already noted, no later than the second century. But we have also noted in passing that there are discrepancies in the ornament of the sarcophagus as compared with the rest of the group, that very much need explanation. It was noted for example that the base moulding of inverted Lesbian cymation, which appears on the sarcophagus in the Ceramicus, on the example we have illustrated in the National Museum of Athens, and on the Salerno example, is absent entirely from the sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo. Another puzzling feature is the absence of the characteristic strigils which are the constant *motif* for the decoration of the front and ends of the other members of the series. What shall we say also of the decoration of the base of the left end of the sarcophagus (Fig. 3), with its un-antique wave *motif* on the topmost fillet, its coarse and blocky

6. The fragment in the courtyard of the museum at Sparta seems to be of the third century; those of the courtyard of the National Museum at Athens have an

earlier appearance. I am indebted to the Direction of the National Museum for information regarding the provenance of the pieces.

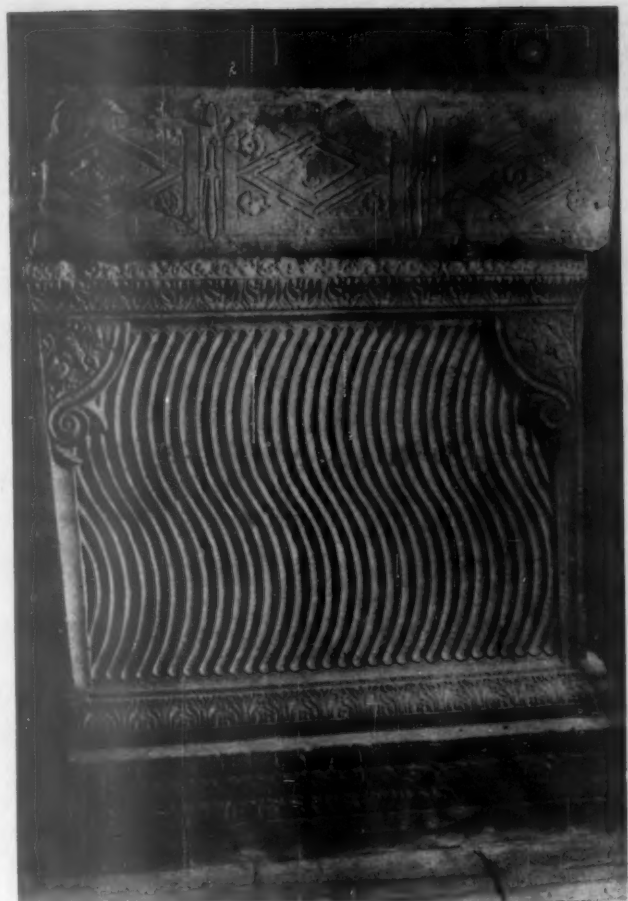


FIG. 6 — *Athens, National Museum:*
Lateral Face of Sarcophagus.

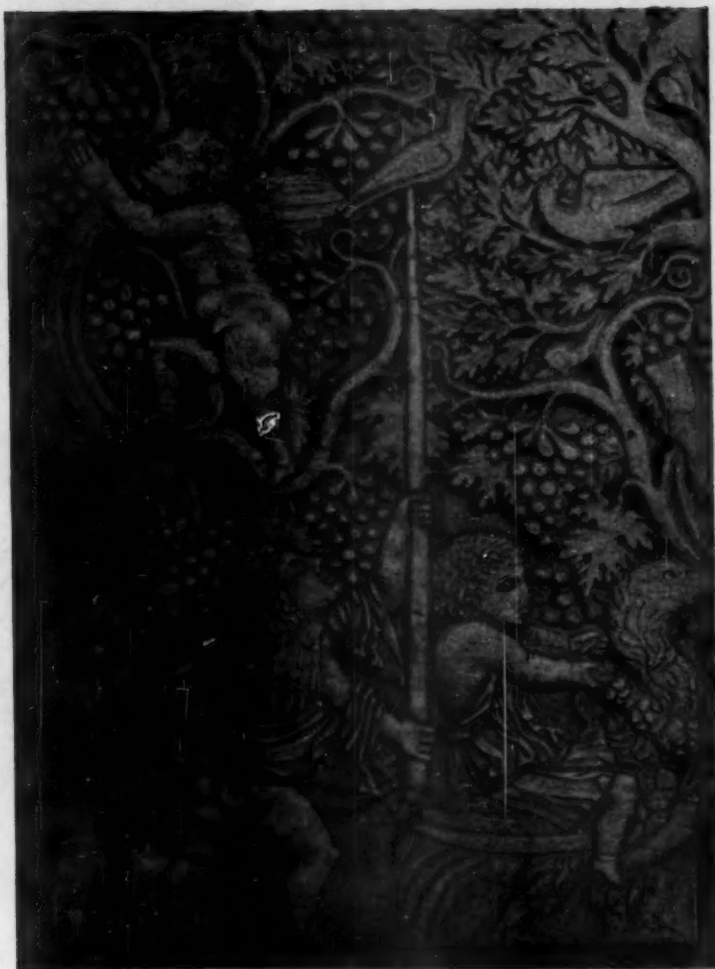


FIG. 7 — *Rome, S. Lorenzo: Detail of Front*
of Sarcophagus.



FIG. 8 — *Rome, S. Lorenzo:*
Detail of Left Lateral Face of Sarcophagus.

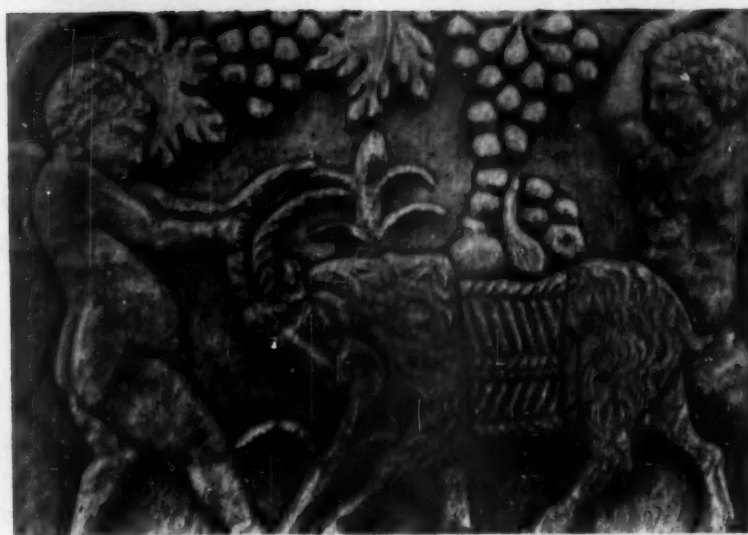


FIG. 9 — *Rome, S. Lorenzo: Detail of Rear Face*
of Sarcophagus.

imitation of the characteristic garland, and the curiously heavy *rinceaux* of the broad fillet below? Certainly these were not carved by the sculptor who did the ornament at the top of this lateral face, or that of the front and the right end.

The explanation is afforded by a comparison of the end of the Athens sarcophagus in Fig. 6 with the lateral face of the sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo which we have been describing. If one compares the relative position of the lion's paws on each, with reference to their respective distance from the edge of the podium, it becomes clear that the podium of the sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo has been cut back so far as to eliminate the base moulding of reversed Lesbian cymation. Not only is this the case, but it is obvious from the photograph that the cutting back went still further, and instead of leaving the original face flush with the line between the outer extremities of the lion's paws, as it would have been if the cutting had ended with the elimination of the base moulding, the cutting has invaded also the return of the pilasters and the interior panel of the lateral face, so that its present surface is considerably deeper than the line between the extremities of the lion's paws, which now corresponds roughly to the outer edge of the present podium. This means that while the ornament of the consoles, and of the crowning moulding, is still intact, the rest of the lateral face has been reworked.

The same evidence is afforded by a comparison of the front faces. On the sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo the cymation at the base has again been eliminated, leaving a wide shelf above the podium. Under the leaf and dart at the top there appears a set-off not found in the face of the Athens example, and from an inch and a quarter to an inch and a half deep. The weathering of the marble appears to be darker on the outside half of this set-off. The state of the right lateral face (Fig. 2) differs from that of the other end only in the fact that the podium has not been touched and the reliefs of the field have been only half finished; the base moulding has here also disappeared and the field of relief has been cut back beyond the line of the extremities of the lion's paws. The back shows the same elimination of the reversed cymation of the base, and the reliefs of the field are only blocked out by incised outlines. The chisel marks on all sides of the sarcophagus have left upon the shelf of the base the trace of the re-working.

The sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo, then, is an Attic sarcophagus of the second century, re-worked at a later date. The later sculptor planed off the strigils and the base moulding in order to get a flat surface and larger space for the vintage scenes which he has depicted on the four sides of the monument, with such verve and humour that he actually succeeded in producing one of the most attractive sets of reliefs to be found in Rome.

A swarm of putti are romping rather than labouring, in a vineyard, only a few of them being apparently occupied with the gathering of the fruit. Most of them are clambering up the branches to play with the jays and peacocks; one balances a bird upon a pole; another is riding a rather nondescript hen upon whose neck he has draped a garland; two of his fellows are playing cavalier in the same fashion with a cock and



FIG. 10 — Bergamo,
Cappella Colleoni:
Detail of Ornament.



FIG. 11 — Rome, St. Peter's:
Detail of the Border of Filarete's
Doors.



FIG. 12 — Rome, St. Peter's:
Detail of the Border of
Filarete's Doors.

a duck, while a third is riding a panther. Shall we with Rodenwaldt, see in this re-working an example of fourth century style, and with Weigand, relate the vintage scene as here depicted, to the Lateran sarcophagus No. 183?

Aside from the community of subject, there is little in common between the two works. The Lateran sculptor's design is halting and of rhythmic character in the manner of the colouristic reliefs of the late antique period. His pattern is of the «all-over» variety; he could have added one or a half-dozen compartments to the front of his sarcophagus without affecting the unity of his work, repeating in each one the same square distribution of vines, Good Shepherds, and putti. The play of these putti is hopelessly constructive, each gesture is effective toward the furtherance of the vintage, and executed with the complacent forbearance of those who inherit the kingdom of Heaven. The clumsily fashioned figures are thrown out from the background by deep undercutting like a screen of lace, and the pleasing effect of the relief comes entirely from its equal distribution, characteristic of a certain class of late antique relief, of light and shade. Refinement in the execution of the individual forms is frustrated by the sculptor's almost complete dependence on the drill.

The S. Lorenzo reliefs have a wholly different technique, as even a photograph can show. The unfinished reliefs of the back and right lateral face show us our artist's initial processes, and we can follow him through the other stages by examining the different states of finish on the other sides. He began by incising the outlines of the figures in the stone, then chiselled out the background between the forms, and lastly added by incision the details of the forms themselves. But he does not undercut nor search for shadow, nor try to equate his dark with the lighted surfaces, after the manner of the Lateran sculptor. His relief is shallow, like the block for a wood-cut, and the background is by no means of the importance which it has in the Lateran example as a foil for the lighted surfaces of the design. His forms are flat, and the sides of them cut back at right angles, after the fashion of Florentine marble workers of the school of Donatello. With such technique it is not surprising that the S. Lorenzo reliefs have the linear quality and the pervasive compactness of a wood-cut, while perhaps the looseness and the broad colour contrasts of the Lateran sarcophagus might suggest the parallel of a mediocre lithograph.

Such technique as this is not antique, but it is not hard to find in the Italian Quattrocento. Nor is the style that of the fourth or any antique century. Such fluidity of design and such humorous conceptions of childhood derive on the one hand from the Gothic tradition of curvilinear contours, and on the other from the individualism of the early Renaissance. Where will one find in antique art a sweeping curve like that of the tail of the peacock in the center of the front relief of the S. Lorenzo sarcophagus, or the deliberately patterned convolutions of the branches of the vine? Where will one find, before the late Middle Ages, so much preoccupation with the comic aspects of infancy as is shown in the figure of the gesturing putto with basket at the bottom of the left lateral face, (Fig. 8) or the *insouciant* baring of his anatomy which gives more freedom of movement to the child that balances a bird upon a pole (Fig. 7). Instances of Quattrocento humour could be multiplied among the mischievous children



FIG. 13 — Rome, S. Marco: Relief over the Portal.



FIG. 14 — Rome, Sta. Maria sopra Minerva: Alberini Tomb.

of these reliefs, but their *bouffe* quality, and their fundamental difference from the pedantic little Cupids who merely reproduce conventional action in miniature on the Lateran sarcophagus, are summed up in this amusing back-view (Fig. 7). An example of the same *motif* in fifteenth century sculpture is given by a detail (Fig. 10) of Amadeo's pilasters in the Capella Colleoni at Bergamo. The quality of our putti can be paralleled *ad infinitum* by running through any corpus of Italian sculpture and painting of the Quattrocento⁷. They have something of the subtle comedy of Agostino di Duccio's babies, and we are reminded of him by the flowing design. The resemblance however is not sufficiently close to justify an attribution, since these reliefs entirely lack his authority and grace, but it is surely in the Quattrocento that we must look for their author, and with probability among the sculptors who worked in Rome in the second and third quarters of that century.

From general considerations, it must have been a sculptor working in Rome in the middle rather than at the end of the fifteenth century, because our reliefs have still too much of the Donatellian tradition in them,—witness the lack of undercutting,—to find their parallels in the work of the marble sculptors of the end of the century. It was a sculptor, finally, thoroughly interested in the antique and conversant with it after the naïve manner of the Quattrocento, when the enthusiasm of the Romanizers outran their knowledge. All of which might point in the direction of Filarete, or his *milieu*.

Antonio di Pietro Averlino, called Il Filarete, was summoned to Rome by Pope Eugenius IV to execute the bronze doors of St. Peter's, in 1433. Florentine by birth and goldsmith by profession, he remained in Rome several years until he was forced to flee the city under the accusation of stealing a reliquary. He had commenced the tomb of Antonio Chiaves, the Cardinal of Portugal, in St. John Lateran, and induced the Signoria of Florence, to which city he had fled, to address in 1449 a petition to the Pope for amnesty, that he might return to Rome to finish the Cardinal's tomb. The appeal was refused, and it is still a question whether the sculptor ever returned again to the papal city. His work in Rome that would serve as comparison for the sarcophagus is therefore practically limited to the bronze doors of St. Peter's.

One looks in vain in them for any striking parallel with the reliefs of S. Lorenzo, as indeed one might expect in comparing not only a bronze work in jeweller's technique with marble relief, but also a master's masterpiece with an obvious *passatempo* such as the reliefs of our sarcophagus. There are some passages in the minor reliefs of the doors that are not a little reminiscent of the putti of S. Lorenzo; the locks and the profile, for instance, of the figure standing with crossed legs in a border of the doors (Fig. 11), which reproduce very well the silhouette of the head of the putto riding the duck in Fig. 3, as well as many other profiles on the sarcophagus. A more banal resemblance is perhaps furnished by the profile of the figure on the other side

7. Compare for instance the following illustrations in Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, Vol. VI, *Scultura del Quattrocento*, figs. 157, 190, 302, 303, 343, 344, 580-583,

585; Vol. VII, 3, *Pittura del Quattrocento*, figs. 5, 18, 21, 24, 56, 98, 272, 396, 467, 488, 763, 851.

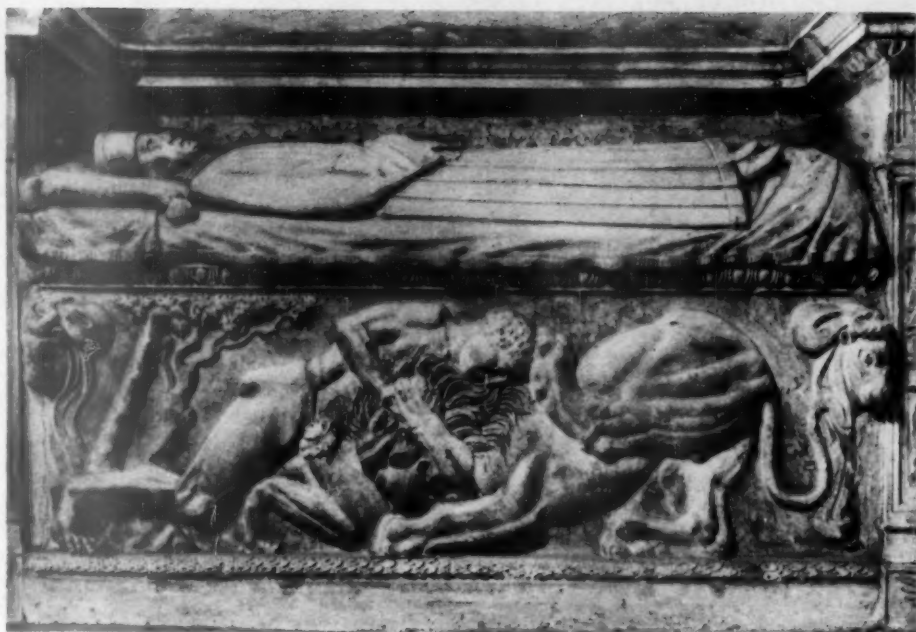


FIG. 15 — Rome, *Sta. Maria sopra Minerva*: Detail of *Alberini Tomb*.



FIG. 16 — Rome, *Sta. Maria sopra Minerva*: Detail of *Alberini Tomb*.



FIG. 17 — Rome, *Grotte Vaticane*: *Pietà*.

of the acanthus scroll in Fig. 11, to the head of the putto to the right in Fig. 9, which reproduces a detail of the rear face of the S. Lorenzo sarcophagus. The figure fleeing from a snail in Fig. 12 reminds one in its long waist, lack of neck and articulated movement, and the curious angularity of gait, of the putto with the basket of Fig. 8.

These identities are by no means sufficient to warrant us in thinking of Filarete himself in connection with the reliefs of S. Lorenzo, but they show that these reliefs have a certain affinity with the Filarete manner, and might easily have been the work of some one of the numerous assistants who helped the master on the bronze doors, and who signed their names with his on the posterior face of the portal. No certainty exists regarding any existing work of any one of these assistants, but there are several works of sculpture in Rome, contemporary or nearly contemporary with the doors, which show unmistakable connection with the decoration of the doors and must have had something to do with the atelier at St. Peter's.

One of these works is the relief representing St. Mark, over the portal of the church of that name in Rome (Fig. 13). This was executed between June of 1451 and August of 1464, in the period that Pietro Barbo, afterward Paul II, was titular cardinal of the church. It reveals on close examination a striking similarity to the technique of the reliefs of S. Lorenzo, in the fine chiseling of the hair and beard that makes it resemble wood shavings, and in the fluent «wet» drapery with narrow rounded folds and grooved depressions. There may be even a reminiscence of the sarcophagus in the mind of the artist who selected the legs for the throne terminating in lion's paws, with their odd apparel of overlapping leaves that recall the garlands of the podium of our monument of S. Lorenzo.

The traditional attribution of the S. Marco relief is to Filarete, but more recent criticism has taken the work out of his *oeuvre*, to give it various paternities of which none has been generally accepted. Venturi⁸ would ascribe it to a pupil of Donatello. In any case the same manner seems to be traceable at a later date in the Alberini tomb in S. Maria sopra Minerva (Fig. 14), where we find the same design for the hood moulding of the arch, terminating below in rosettes with a half-palmette of serrated acanthus leaves, and in a very similar acroterion above. The «wetness» of the drapery which we noted at S. Marco, betrayed the sculptor there into the error of giving too much prominence to the Evangelist's knee-caps, and we find the same round knee-caps showing through the pliant and flowing drapery in the candelabrum-bearing angels at the sides of the tomb (Fig. 16). The pendant garlands also are remarkably alike on both monuments.

Here again we are confronted with a traditional attribution, this time to Agostino di Duccio, which rests on no evidence at all, either external or internal. But if the community of atelier of the S. Marco relief and the Alberini tomb be accepted, we have again in the latter a noteworthy detail connecting its sculptor or sculptors with the reliefs of S. Lorenzo. It has not been observed by archaeologists that the lower moulding of the Neo-Attic relief of the Augustan period, which was included in the mo-

8. Venturi, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 374 ff.

nument by the fifteenth century sculptor of the tomb (Fig. 15), was added at the time of this incorporation. The use of a garland on a corner moulding is un-antique in any case; the later date of this particular example is shown by the fact that the carving follows the indentations caused by the weathering and mutilation of the ancient stone. It is not without interest therefore to find in this garland the same design as in that of the sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo, and a form of the leaf-and-berry garland that approximates, in the stubbier outline of the leaves and the more conventional incision of their lobes, as well as the greater width of the bands, the garland carved by the re-worker of the sarcophagus when he shortened the left end and tried to imitate the decoration of the front on the lateral podium.

The two angels on each side of the Alberini tomb are very like those that stand on either side of a Pietà (Fig. 17) in the Grotte Vaticane, which Lisetta Ciaccio has assigned to the Roman master of the fifteenth century christened by her the « *Maestro dei Quattro Dottori* »⁹. Here we find the same fluttering grace, the same hair in curls resembling wood-shavings that we have found before on the relief of St. Mark and the sarcophagus of S. Lorenzo, and another feature in common with the tomb of the Minerva is the accentuation of the knee-cap in the angel on the right. The head of Christ is certainly related in style to that of St. Mark.

It would seem therefore that the identities of detail and general handling that have been pointed out between the sarcophagus in its re-worked portions, the relief over the door of St. Mark's, the Alberini tomb in the Minerva, and the Pietà of the Grotte Vaticane, are not coincidences, but due to common authorship. Whether the atelier which produced this group of Roman Quattrocento works is that of Lisetta Ciaccio's « *Maestro dei Quattro Dottori* », or of the pupil of Donatello to whom Venturi assigns the relief of St. Mark's, is a question which must be referred to students more competent than I in the history of Renaissance sculpture in Rome. The summary comparisons which I have made are at least convincing as to the date of the reliefs of the S. Lorenzo sarcophagus, and it will be sufficient if this note shall have removed these hitherto puzzling works from the category of late antique art.

9. *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 433 ff. The author has named the sculptor thus because the other two panels of the *pala d'altare* to which the Pietà belongs, which are now in the

new Museo Petriano, are carved with figures of the four Doctors of the Church.



FIG. 1 — Aosta, Cathedral: Diptych of Probus,
A. D. 406. (Photo Delbrueck).



FIG. 2 — Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Philoxenus
Leaf, A. D. 525. (Photo Delbrueck).



FIG. 3 — South Kensington
Museum: Symmacbi panel.

THE STYLE OF THE CONSULAR DIPTYCHS¹

By EDWARD CAPPS, JR.

THIS paper is a portion of a study of the style of the late antique ivories whereby I hope to classify them into groups or schools and to arrive thereby at some conclusion in regard to the place of origin of such groups or schools.

As a basis for this study, I have taken first the consular diptychs, since they are among the few absolutely dated monuments of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. and cover a period where it is most difficult to follow the effect of the interacting forces which finally transformed the Hellenistic into the Mediaeval style².

The consular diptychs were descended from the ancient writing-tablets or « pugillares », but were more immediately derived from the tablets with ornament carved in relief which were presented to important personages and friends upon accession to office. The interior was still prepared with wax for writing but the exterior, with its representation of the donor, now became the more significant part³.

These diptychs were composed of two leaves, usually of sculptured ivory but

1. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Arthur E. Bye of the Pennsylvania Art Museum who very kindly allowed me to make free use of his unpublished thesis on *Coptic Style*, and my very special thanks are due to Dr. Richard Delbrueck who placed at my disposal the photographic material of his forthcoming *Corpus Diptychorum*.

2. These forces are known; they are, first of all, the Hellenistic tradition divergently modified by the points-of-view of the Latin West and the Oriental Greek; secondly, the influence of the Nearer East; and finally the western barbarian view-point, later known as the Romanesque or Gothic, which does not here immediately concern us as it does not become prominent as early as the fifth and sixth centuries.

Scholars are not agreed as to the relative importance of the factors enumerated above. Wickhoff (*Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna, 1895, ch. iv.) sought to prove that the vital characteristic of the late antique was a realistic rendering or « illusionism » injected into the Hellenistic tradition by the Romans; Riegl (*Die spätromische Kunstindustrie*, Vienna, 1901, ch. ii) saw in it a growth of an « optic point-of-view » whereby the artist, as it were, tended to move further and further away from the object to be depicted and in which more stress is laid upon general effect than upon individual detail; Strzygowski (*Orient oder Rom*, Leipzig, 1901, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Vienna, 1918, *Altai-Iran*, Leipzig, 1917, *The Origin of Christian Church Art* (trs. by O. M. Dalton), Oxford, 1923) feels that the difference between the Hellenistic and the late antique lies in the influence of the Nearer East, notably Persia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and possibly Iran.

Morey (*Sources of Mediaeval Style*, *Art Bulletin*, vol. vii, no. 2, December, 1924, p. 1 ff.) thinks the error of these scholars has been in regarding their theories as mutually exclusive. It is self-evident to any student of the period that when the Hellenistic style is adapted to Roman taste it becomes realistic; and that when it comes into contact with the Orient a greater emphasis is placed upon *chiaroscuro*, the play of light and shade, and a general decorative

effect. There is no good reason why it should not have done both.

Even more evident is Riegl's observation as to the development of the « optic point-of-view ». From the first to the sixth centuries A. D., a gradual change is manifest whereby, in both painting and sculpture, actual modelling on a flat surface gives way to a more coloristic technique in which the illusion of life is given by the contrast between light and shade. But what Riegl failed to do, as Morey noted, was to observe that the evolution does not proceed in the same fashion throughout the extent of late antique art, but progresses towards one ideal in Egypt and the West, and towards another in the East. Thus in Greece and Asia it tends towards abstract representation and decorative design; in Egypt and the Latin West towards realistic representation alone. That is to say, that the color contrast which supplants modelling or drawing of the figure produces in Asia a decorative *chiaroscuro*, which Strzygowski calls colorism; in Alexandria and the West the same color contrast is used to produce a vivid effect of actual existence without reference to decorative considerations. This is Wickhoff's « illusionism ».

One factor which must always be considered in any question of style is the problem of the source and adaptations of various types of ornament. Weigand (*Baalbek*, in *Jb. für Kunstwissenschaft*, 2 Hft, 1924; *Baalbek und Rom*, *Jb. arch. Inst.*, 1914; *Neue Untersuchungen über das Goldene Tor in Konstantinopel*, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1914, p. 1 ff.) has made an exhaustive study of this subject and has succeeded in definitely isolating several types of ornament, chief among which are the scallop shell or conch, the Lydian capital, and the Lesbian cymation. A finding of his which is of importance to this study is that the scallop shell with the hinge at the bottom and the flutings radiating upward is predominantly an Eastern motive and the Western conches usually have their flutings radiating in the reverse direction.

3. For a fuller discussion cf. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (London, 1911), p. 185, 196 ff. (hereafter referred to as Dalton, *B. A. and A.*).

sometimes of wood, metal or bone, often richly decorated with gold and fastened together by hinges. They were issued chiefly by the consuls but their usage passed from them to other officials and was even adopted by private persons, who on the occasion of certain family festivals, marriage for example, offered their relatives diptychs of this sort. The Theodosian code of 384 A. D. prohibited the presentation of diptychs made of ivory by any save *consules ordinarii*; but this prohibition was evidently ineffective as ten years later Symmachus in a letter to his brother announces the dispatch of a diptych on the elevation of his son to the quaestorship⁴. There are some fifty-seven consular diptychs extant, only fourteen of which are unidentified⁵.

The consul is usually represented as in his house receiving the congratulations of his friends or, and more usually, as presiding at the circus games in a chair which is evidently a descendant of the *sella curulis* with curved legs and no back. He wears the costume known as the *toga picta*, arranged in the « contabulated style »⁶, that is to say having been folded in a very flat band before being put on. This band was richly decorated with embroidery and *segmenta*, or attached pieces of cloth, which often contained representations of the consul himself or of his family⁷. The *mappa circensis* or handkerchief with which the consul gave the signal for the games to commence, appears in his right hand as early as Boethius, consul in 487 A. D.; in his left is a sceptre. To the right and left of the consul are often represented either personifications of Rome and Constantinople, as in the diptychs of Magnus (A. D. 518) and Orestes (A. D. 530), or other persons, presumably attendants or persons of rank, as in several of the diptychs of Areobindus (A. D. 506). A considerable number of diptychs seem to have been required by each consul, and they varied in quality according to the rank of the recipient. Thus there exist eight diptychs of the consul Areobindus, four of which are of the elaborate type previously described, the other four being more simply decorated with monograms, rosettes, lozenges and floral ornament.

Dalton⁸ also notes another more elaborate type of diptych which seems to have been devised when the emperor himself was to be the chief recipient. This was a very large « composite » diptych, each leaf of which was composed of five parts⁹. « Two

4. Cf. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 196, note 3 for references.

5. Dalton, as above, p. 197, mentions but forty-nine examples, thirty-seven being identified by inscriptions giving titles, by monograms, or by both, and twelve anonymous. In addition to the fifty-five included in Delbrueck's list I am including two « composite » diptychs at Milan and Basle; the fragment at Munich, supposedly from a « composite » diptych (Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 198) looks suspiciously like a forgery and I have thus excluded it. The monograms which appear on the consular diptychs have generally been considered to refer to the consul but Delbrueck, who is making an interesting study of the question, believes that this is not the case. When the monogram alone appears, as in the case of the Areobindus type in the Louvre, it does spell the name of the consul in Greek letters as W. Meyer observed, (*Zwei antike Elfenbeintafeln der k. Staatsbibliothek in München* (Munich, 1879), no. 12, but when it accompanies an inscription to the consul, as in the Areobindus diptych in Lucca (Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1901, I, fig. 337) and in the Clementinus and Orestes diptychs (fig. 32), the monogram seems to refer to someone or something

else. The final solution of this problem must await Delbrueck's further researches.

6. For details of costume cf. Wilpert, *Un capitolo di storia del vestiario*, in *L'Arte*, Rome, I, 1898, p. 89 ff., and *Die Gewandung der Christen in den ersten Jahrhunderten*, Bonn, 1898; W. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 22 ff.; L. Wilson, *The Toga*, 1924, pp. 112-115; for further bibliography on costume cf. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 197, Note 2.

7. This sort of representation appears on the diptychs of Stilicho and Serena, (ca. A. D. 400), on that of Basiliscus (A. D. 480), and on the Areobindus leaves in the Cluny Museum (Paris) and at Petrograd.

8. *B. A. and A.*, p. 197, 198 and 199.

9. Westwood, *Fictile Ivories* (1876), p. 365, Nr. 5; W. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 50, and pl. I, and II. « The winged Victories recall the scheme of two winged genii holding portrait medallions which frequently occur on pagan sarcophagi » (Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 198). Cf. also Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, vol. I, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar*, 31. This motive of winged victories or angels holding a wreath or medallion, as I shall show later, was very popular in Egypt.

fragments from an example in the Trivulzio collection at Milan show the nature of the upper and lower plaques. That from the top has two winged figures of Victories holding a wreath containing a female bust (the Tyche of Constantinople), that from the bottom barbarian tributaries. The inscriptions on these two plaques: AC TRIUMPHATORI PERPETVO SEMPER AVG; and: VIR ILLVSTR COM: PROTIC (?) ET CONSVL ORDINAR, leave no doubt that the whole of which they formed parts was intended as a gift to an emperor from a consul ». There are similar fragments of composite diptychs at Basle¹⁰ and Munich¹¹. The so-called Barberini diptych in the Louvre¹², which may possibly be a consular composite diptych, illustrates the type. Here the emperor, variously identified as Constantine or Justinian, is represented on the central panel, mounted and carrying a lance. On the upper plaque are seen Victories holding a medallion enclosing a beardless bust of Christ; the lower has barbarians bringing tribute. Only one of the lateral plaques remains; it bears a warrior offering a figure of Victory to the emperor.

The consular diptychs, though having minor merit in themselves, are extremely important to the student for the light that they throw upon the undated monuments of the period and their value in consequence has long since been recognized by scholars. The earliest and among the most thorough treatises of the subject is the monumental work of Gori¹³ published in 1789; the most important works on the consular diptychs after Gori are those by Pulszky¹⁴, Westwood¹⁵, William Meyer¹⁶, Molinier¹⁷ and Graeven¹⁸. The last named scholar was at the time of his death engaged upon the task of preparing a corpus of diptychs to bring Gori's work up to date and thus fulfill the wish expressed by Molinier; this task is now being completed by Delbrueck to whom the present writer is much indebted for the use of his splendid set of photographs and much of his material for the corpus.

Despite all these elaborate and learned treatises upon the subject, however, up to the twentieth century, with the exception of Gori and to some extent of Graeven, there has been little or no attempt to discuss the consular diptychs from a stylistic view-point. Only in recent years have scholars attempted to classify them stylistically. Writers since Gori have either considered the consular diptychs as a stylistic unit or

10. The upper plaque of a composite diptych at Basle is almost identical with the Milan plaque (figs. 19-23); it figures two flying Victories holding a medallion containing a female bust and bears the inscription PERPETVÆ SEMPER AVGVSTÆ (Cf. W. Meyer, *op. cit.*, 50-51; De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1878, Pl. I) which seems to show that these diptychs were also destined as offerings for empresses.

11. «The royal library in Munich contains two side plaques from such a diptych which Meyer supposes to represent the consul bringing his congratulations for the new year in the presence of imperial guards and an officer of the court; a standing figure of Victory holds up a medallion containing a bearded imperial bust which is conjectured by Meyer, upon inadequate evidence, to be Julian », Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 198. If this really was a « composite » diptych we should expect the upper and lower panels to be similar to the examples at Milan and Basle (cf. figs. 19 and 23). On the central would then appear the emperor himself. But, as stated before, these fragments at Munich appear suspiciously like a forgery. For a discussion of the side panels of this diptych cf. Strzygowski,

Hellenistische und koptische Kunst in Alexandria, *Bull. de la Soc. archéol.*, no. 5, Vienna, 1902, p. 8, fig. 2, who compares it with a bone carving in Alexandria with a similar subject.

12. A. Venturi, *Storia*, I, 394, fig. 360; Ch. Diehl, *Justinien* (1901), frontispiece. For further bibliography cf. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 199, note 1; for a discussion of the style, which is closely related to that of the Maximianus Chair cf. E. Baldwin Smith, *The Alexandrian Origin of the Chair of Maximianus*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1917, p. 32 ff.

13. *Thesaurus veterum Diptychorum Consularium et Ecclesiasticorum* (1759).

14. *Catalogue of the Fejérvary Ivories in the Museum of J. Meyer* (1856).

15. *Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum* (1876).

16. *Zwei antike Elfenbeintafeln der k. Staatsbibliothek in München*, Munich, 1879, and in *Abhandl. der philol. philolog. Classe der Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XV, I.

17. *Histoire des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, Vol. I, *Ivoires*, hereafter referred to as Molinier, *Ivoires*.

18. *Röm. Mitt.*, 1892, p. 216 ff. and 1913, p. 246 ff., and in *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1897, p. 67 ff.

have been content to assume that they were either made in Rome or Constantinople, rightly noticing the strong traces of Eastern or Byzantine influence in those diptychs which belong to the sixth century.

Graeven, although perhaps making his classification rather from a close examination of details in costume arrangement than from figure style or ornament, has contributed much valuable information; he definitely succeeded in attributing the Basilius¹⁹ diptych (Fig. 21), which had before been assigned to the consul of 541, to the Basilius²⁰ of 480 A. D., chiefly on the basis of its resemblance in general composition, ornament, and costume to the Boethius diptych (Fig. 4) of 487 A. D.; to this same group dating from about 480-500 A. D. he assigns the Barberini diptych in Rome and the original of the David and Gregory diptych in Monza²¹. Another valuable contribution in his classifying of undated diptychs was his assignment of the Lampadii²² diptych (Fig. 22), formerly put in the sixth century by most authorities, to the first decade of the fifth century in view of its similarity in drapery and style to the diptychs of Probianus (Fig. 5, ca. A. D. 400) and Felix (Fig. 6; A. D. 428)

Haseloff²³ went a step further in this classification of the diptychs; in his attempt to find a working basis for his study of the Berlin and Nevers fragments²⁴ he traces the development of ivory carving in Rome. Beginning with the Symmachi and Nicomachi diptychs (Fig. 3), of 392-394, or 401 A. D.,²⁵ he traces a continuity of style and of certain ornamental motives through the Probianus and Lampadii diptychs (Fig. 5 and 22), to the Trivulzio²⁶ group. He finds that the fragments of Berlin and Nevers are remarkably close in style to this group of ivories, especially to the pagan group and in particular to the Probianus diptych; there is the same wide expanse of unoccupied background in both cases and the shape of the heads, the treatment of hair, hands and draperies, are quite similar. Thus he attributes the fragments to ateliers in Rome active before the date of Probianus diptych, namely the end of the fourth century. These ivories would then be among the earliest examples of a Roman school of ivory carvers

19. Molinier, *op. cit.*, *avant-propos*.

20. *Röm. Mitt.*, 1892, pp. 210, 215.

21. *Röm. Mitt.*, 1892, p. 218 ff., and *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1897, p. 77.

22. W. Meyer, (*op. cit.*, p. 86, 17, 21, 34, 78, fig. 42) attributed this leaf, not to the Consul Lampadius of 530 A. D., but in connection with an inscription concerning the renewal of the Flavian amphitheatre, to Caecina Felix Lampadius, of the second quarter of the fifth century. The inscription, *Lampadiorum*, also points to an early date aligning it with the Symmachorum and Nicomachorum diptychs of the late fourth century where the genitive form is used, and with that of Felix (A. D. 428, Fig. 6) the oldest consular diptych in which the consul appears; a little later the disc of Aspar, 434 A. D., has the name in the nominative. Thus Graeven (*Röm. Mitt.*, 1892, p. 216) puts this leaf in the first ten years of the fifth century. This dating is perhaps a little too early as that was a period in Rome in which ivory carving seems to have ceased altogether from the invasion of Alaric in 410 A. D. This cessation will be discussed in more detail later; cf. Dr. E. Baldwin Smith's, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence* (Princeton, 1918) p. 187 ff. (hereafter referred to as *E. Christ. Icon.*). It quite clearly belongs, however, to the first thirty years of the fifth century.

23. Ein altchristliches Relief aus der Blütezeit römischer Elfenbeinschnitzerei, in *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*, XXIV, 1903, p. 55 ff.

24. Of these fragments, one is the side-panel of a five-part diptych in the Berlin museum; the other, possibly belonging to the same diptych, is in the museum at Nevers; reading down, the scenes represented on the former are the «smashing» type of the Massacre of the Innocents, the Baptism, and the Miracle of Cana; on the latter, reading from left to right, the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi; cf. E. Baldwin Smith, *E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 237 ff., figs. 163 and 164.

25. Otto Seeck, *De Symmachi Vita*, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, auctores antiquissimi*, VI, 1883, p. lix; Venturi, *Storia*, I, figs. 354, 355; Molinier, *Ivoires*, p. 43, no. 58.

26. This group, according to Haseloff, consists of the leaf with the scene of the Holy Women at the tomb, in the collection of Prince Trivulzio at Milan, Molinier, *Ivoires*, pl. VI; the four plaques, with the scenes of the Passion, in the British Museum (Dalton, *Catalogue of the Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the British Museum*, London, 1901, pl. VI; hereafter referred to as Dalton, *B. M. Cat.*; Cf. Baldwin Smith, *E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 187, note 1; and the three panels, with the scenes from the lives of Moses, and Peter, in the same museum, (Dalton, *B. M. Cat.*, pl. VII, no. 282).

who later produced the Milan book covers and the Werden casket²⁷. His chief reason for this early dating is the fact, which he rightly noted, that there seems to be a definite cessation in ivory carving in Rome at the end of the first decade of the fifth century due to the invasion of the Goths under the leadership of Alaric which culminated in the sack of Rome in the year 410 A. D., and that when this craft is resumed all the Roman diptychs become crude, flat and inferior²⁸. This change from a tactile technique of careful modelling of the figure to bring out the form, to a more linear treatment is easily seen by comparing, for example, the diptych of Probianus (Fig. 5) or Probus (A. D. 406, Fig. 1), with that of Felix (A. D. 428, Fig. 6).

Dr. E. Baldwin Smith²⁹, taking up the matter where Haseloff left off, accepts in general the former's Roman category but prefers a later dating³⁰ for the fragments of Berlin and Nevers, assigning most of the late ivories of Haseloff's Roman School, such as the Felix diptych of 428, the Trivulzio ivory, the Milan book covers, and the Boethius diptych of 487, as well as the afore-mentioned fragments, to a Roman school of ivory carvers working in Provence. This theory really seems to solve the problem and to remove the weak point in Haseloff's argument. The former's principal reason for placing the Berlin and Nevers fragments in the fourth century was on account of the cessation of ivory carving in Rome after the beginning of the fifth century. It is this very cessation of Roman ivory carving which explains the existence of the Gallic School. Even before Alaric entered Rome in 410 A. D., fear drove a large part of the populace to seek refuge elsewhere. So complete was the flight of craftsmen and so slight was the inducement to return to Rome after the city had been freed from her invaders, that legislation was necessary to force them to do so³¹. We know that at this time sarcophagus carving practically ceased at Rome; the craftsmen appear to have emigrated in great numbers to Provence, for about the beginning of the fifth century we discover a fully developed school of sarcophagus carvers at Arles who carried on the traditions of Rome³². What is more logical than that the ivory carvers also emigrated to Provence? This theory is substantiated by the close resemblance between the Rouen diptych and a sarcophagus from St. Victor at Marseilles and the same Rouen diptych is closely connected with the Felix diptych of 428 A. D. which in turn is related to the Berlin fragment on stylistic grounds³³. There is also a strong iconographical case for

27. For a discussion of this casket and its relation to the Milan book covers cf. Baldwin Smith, *E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 221-231, figs. 157, 158, 159; and *A Source of Medieval Style in France*, *Art Studies*, 1924, p. 85 ff., fig. 13; also Stuhlfauth, *Die altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 76-78.

28. Haseloff, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60, cites as examples of this decline in Roman ivory carving the Basilus diptych, Fig. 21, of the year 480, the diptych of Boethius, Fig. 4, of 487, and the Orestes diptych, Fig. 32, of 530.

29. *E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 237 ff.; also cf. article in *Art Studies*, 1924, p. 102 ff.

30. Baldwin Smith, *Art Studies*, 1924, p. 103, dates the fragments of Berlin and Nevers (*op. cit.*, figs. 9 and 10) before 428, the date of the Felix diptych. This is a much earlier date than he gave them in his *E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 247.

31. Baldwin Smith, *E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 244.

32. Cf. Baldwin Smith, as above, chapter entitled, *The Orientalizing of Gaul*, p. 192-206.

33. Haseloff had compared the Felix diptych with the fragment at Berlin and noted the resemblance between the figure of John in the Baptism of the former with the representation of the consul in the latter. These figures are also quite close in style to those of the charioteers in the Lampadiorum diptych (compare Figs. 6 and 22). Baldwin Smith points out (*op. cit.*, p. 103) an even closer relation between the consular diptych and the Rouen diptych. «Not only do they have the same egg-and-dart border, and in low and sketchy relief in contrast to the high relief of the border of the Berlin fragment, but the general style and cutting of the figures are the same. Therefore, if the Rouen diptych and the Berlin fragments are Provençal, by the very analogies which Haseloff cites, the Felix diptych is a work of the same school and gives us a certain date» (*Art Studies*, 1924, p. 103). While Baldwin Smith admits the possibility of the Provençal craftsmen having returned to Rome to resume the practice of carving consular diptychs, he deems it more probable that the diptych

assigning this whole group of ivories to Provence which the reader may find developed in Dr. E. Baldwin Smith's book, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory-Carvers in Provence*³⁴.

The many differences between the diptychs issued by the consuls of the fifth century and those of the sixth are apparent even to the most casual observer. The craftsmen who carved the earlier consular diptychs seem to have been allowed much greater freedom as to composition and the general character of their work than those of the later period. Thus even in so decadent a work as the diptych of Boethius (A. D. 487, Fig. 4), there is a variation in the leaves of the diptych, the consul being represented as standing in one case and as seated in the other; in the diptychs of the sixth century the two leaves are usually almost identical save for the scene represented on the lower part of the leaf.

But on closer examination we find that the diptychs can be divided more sharply than by merely putting all the fifth century examples in one stylistic group and the sixth century ones in another. Let us take up the inscriptional evidence for example. The usual custom seems to have been to cause the inscription giving the name of the consul and his titles to be inscribed in Latin on a cartouche at the top of the leaf. Generally this inscription to the consul ran from one leaf to the other, reading from left to right at first, although after the precedent set by the diptychs of Areobindus (A. D. 506), the reverse order was often followed, the names of the consul appearing on the right-hand leaf and his titles on the left-hand one. The dedicatory inscription to the emperor or senate, as the case might be, was nearly always written in Greek; the diptychs of Probus (A. D. 406, Fig. 1) and those of Justinian (A. D. 521)³⁵, are the only exceptions to this rule. The monograms of the consul, when they appear, are also usually in Greek letters. We now come to a point worthy of attention; in nearly every case where a Greek inscription or a Greek monogram appears, raised letters

was actually carved in Gaul. We find evidence for local Gallic diptych-making in the case of Ausonius who was made consul in Gaul and of Astyrius who actually gave out diptychs at Arles in 449 while in command of his troops (cf. Baldwin Smith as above, p. 103, note 90).

The Rouen diptych (Baldwin Smith as above, fig. 6, or *E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 232, fig. 161) which appears stylistically to be of the same date as the Felix diptych, is Provençal because it is almost a copy of the figures on a sarcophagus of St. Victor at Marseilles, (cf. *E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 231-237).

Another ornamental motive which links these ivories together and points to Rome as the source of the style is the form of the leaf decoration carved on the *cyma* borders. Instead of having leaves carved after the fashion of the Lesbian *cyma* the spaces are filled on one side with « tuliplike flowers » and on the other with rosette fans. Weigand asserts that these « tuliplike flowers » are a mark of Roman workmanship (*Jb. Arch. Inst.*, 1914, p. 73, note 2); Baldwin Smith, furthermore, has been able to locate no « tuliplike » *cymas* outside of Italy or the Roman sphere in the West and claims to be able to trace the *cyma* with the fanlike rosette in Roman architecture from Etruscan times down to the fourth century, (*Art Studies*, 1924, note 22). This palmette ornament appears on the Rouen diptych, the Milan book covers, the Symmachorum and Probianus diptychs, Figs. 3 and 5, and also on the

Trivulzio ivory on which is represented the Marys at the Tomb (cf. Molinier, *Ivoires*, pl. VI).

34. For instance the « smashing » Massacre of the Innocents, in which the soldiers of Herod smash the children to the ground instead of cutting them down with swords, as Baldwin Smith has shown, is peculiar to Provence in early Christian times and to Gaul during the Carolingian period, (*E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 65 and 241). The earliest example of this type appears on a sarcophagus cover in the church of St. Maximin, which was a dependency of St. Victor of Marseilles, and probably does not date before the end of the first quarter of the fifth century. As this representation is more primitive than either the Berlin or Milan scenes it establishes a *terminus post quem* of the first quarter of the fifth century for the execution of the Berlin and Nevers fragments. See also the types of the Baptism and the Miracle of Cana (*op. cit.*, p. 76 and 90).

35. In these two diptychs the dedicatory inscription to the emperor and the senate respectively is in incised Latin letters; the diptych of Probus, the earliest extant consular diptych, is an exception to the common form of diptych in many ways; in the place of the usual figure of the consul, we see that of the emperor Honorius; the inscription referring to the consul here appears across the bottom of the leaf and not in a cartouche at the top, as was customary later.

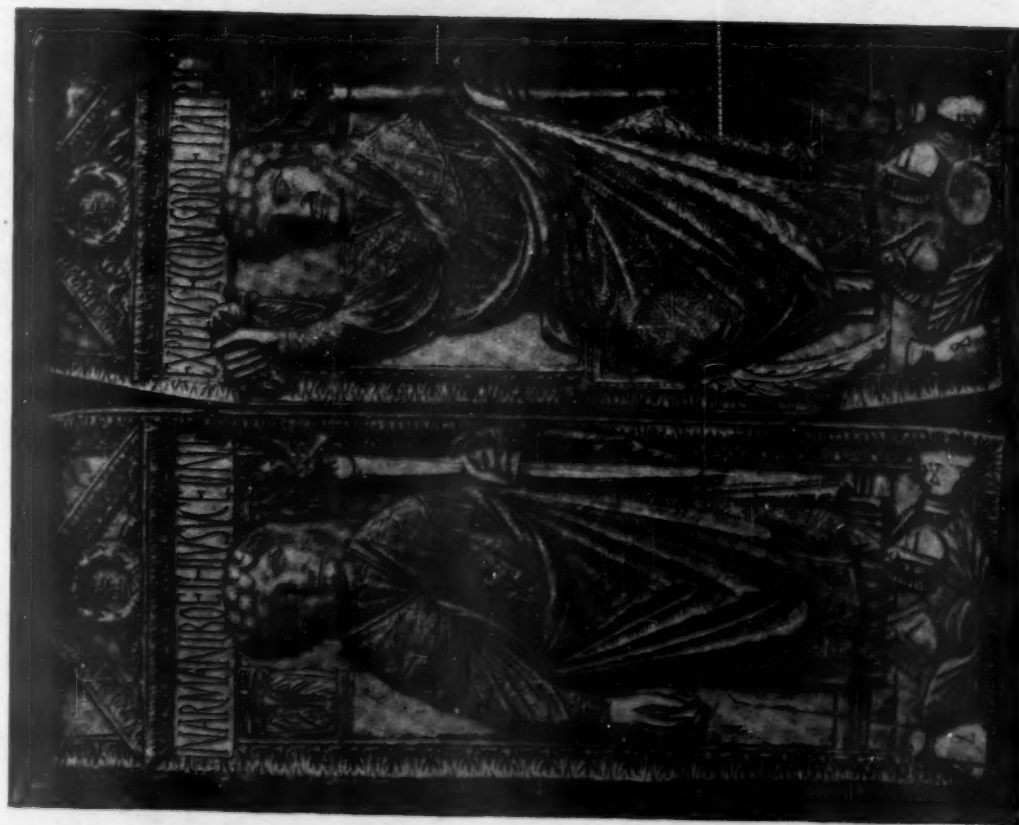


FIG. 4 — Brescia, Museum: Diptych of Boethius,
A. D. 487.



FIG. 5 — Berlin, Library: Diptych
of Probianus, circa A. D. 400.



FIG. 6 — Paris, Bibl. Nat.:
Diptych of Fl. Felix, A. D. 428.

are used, which thus must have been cut at the same time as the rest of the diptych³⁶ (Fig. 2). On the other hand, all of the Latin inscriptions have been incised and those of the sixth century at least, seem to have been added later; the monogram of the consul Orestes (A. D. 530), for example, is obviously off center, while the inscriptions on the diptychs of such consuls as Areobindus and Anastasius (A. D. 506, Figs. 8 and 7), Clementinus³⁷ (A. D. 513), and Justinian³⁸ (A. D. 521), are poorly spaced and do not fit in with the general design of the leaf. If we compare them with such fifth century diptychs as those of Felix (A. D. 428, Fig. 6), Basilius (A. D. 480, Fig. 21), and Boethius (A. D. 487, Fig. 4), where the inscription clearly concords in scale and execution with the general design of each leaf and was thus probably executed at the same time as the diptych, this difference of method is easily discernible.

The logical conclusion to be drawn from these discrepancies is as follows: during the fifth century the consuls seem to have ordered their diptychs locally, at the time they wanted them, and to have allowed the artist some opportunity to display his invention as to general design and details; the custom of giving out diptychs, while probably popular during that period, was by no means obligatory. The fact that we have no more than a single diptych of any consul of the fifth century while we have as many eight belonging to such a consul as Areobindus (A. D. 506), seems to bear out this theory. As the custom grew and consuls took to issuing numerous diptychs the orders must have taken on a wholesale character, and diptychs must have been produced ready-made in sufficient quantity to meet the demand. Thus a consul such as Areobindus or Philoxenus (Fig. 2), of 506 and 525 A. D. respectively, could order a number of diptychs with the dedicatory inscription already prepared for them; the Latin inscription referring to the consul, could of course be easily added when needed. The diptych at Liverpool usually assigned to Magnus³⁹ (A. D. 518), but which now bears an inscription to Baldricus (Fig. 30), a French bishop of the twelfth century, confirms this theory; for, in this instance, the surface of the cartouche was not cut back to receive the mediaeval inscription, since the center of the label is convex and of the same projection as the margin; therefore it must have remained uninscribed until the time of

36. Raised letters are not always used in the case of Greek monograms as in the diptych of Clementinus (A. D. 513). In the Meyer Museum at Liverpool there is a leaf assigned to the consul Philoxenus on which is figured in relief a large lozenge terminating above and below in a tri-lobed flower, inscribing an octagonal medallion; in this medallion is an inscription in raised letters, in Latin, not in Greek, containing the names and titles of the consul. This would seem, for the moment, to throw out our contention that the Latin inscription referring to the consul was a later addition. But if we investigate the matter further we shall find that this solitary exception to our rule strengthens rather than weakens our case. For the Meyer museum leaf is obviously a copy of a similar leaf in the Trivulzio collection in Milan. This is proved by an error of the copyist in writing the name of the consul which appears in the lower right hand medallion as *Φιξεν* and not *Φιλοξενος*. In the Trivulzio leaf this lower right hand corner is broken off so that only the letters *Φιξεν* appear, thus explaining the error in the Meyer museum leaf. This mistake led Graeven, (*Röm. Mitt.*, 1892, p. 208) to doubt the authenticity of the leaf at Liverpool; Delbrueck holds a similar belief that the leaf is a

forgery. Whether this ivory is merely an inferior copy of the Trivulzio leaf or a modern forgery does not immediately concern us. The important thing is that the copyist, whoever he was, in addition to making the epigraphical error already referred to, also failed to follow his model in the case of the Latin inscription referring to the consul, using raised letters there as well as in the medallions. For the inscription referring to the consul is in incised letters in the Trivulzio leaf and is presumably a later addition as in the other Greek diptychs.

There is one case, e. g. the Areobindus diptych at Lucca, where raised letters are used for a Latin monogram. This monogram does not, however, refer to the consul, according to Delbrueck (cf. note 5).

37. Venturi, *Storia*, I, figs. 338, 339, p. 367.

38. Molinier, *Ivoires*, no. 26.

39. Westwood, *Fictile Ivories*, p. 22, no. 63. Delbrueck thinks that this is perhaps a forgery, but after making a very close examination of the leaf, I have come to the conclusion that this is not the case. It is very close in composition and style to the Magnus type in the Bibliothèque Nationale which clearly belongs to the Alexandrian group discussed later in this article (cf. Figs. 30 and 27).

Baldricus⁴⁰. The diptychs with Greek dedications thereupon must have been made in Greek ateliers; while those of the fifth century, with Latin inscriptions only, incised in a manner consistent with the original design, must be attributed to Latin ateliers. We arrive thus at a distinction between Greek and Latin styles in the series.

Let us now further define the distinction between the Latin and Greek diptychs; I prefer the use of the term Latin rather than Roman in that it conveys a more general meaning and does not imply that the style was confined to the city of Rome itself.

The decline in sculpture in the Latin West during the late Roman empire was partly due to the decline in popularity of the art but largely to the lack of originality in the sculptors themselves. The West, never very original in matters of art, reveals its chief artistic virtue in its realization of this defect and consequent willingness to follow the best Greek models. Thus in the case of such ivories as the Symmachi (Fig. 3) and Nicomachi leaves and the Probianus diptych (Fig. 5), we find a great deal of fine modelling in low relief and indeed much real Greek feeling; this is absent from the cruder Probus diptych (A. D. 406, Fig. 1), of about the same period and clearly an imitation of the familiar type of imperial portrait statue⁴¹. The modelling is still fairly good but in the foreshortening of the legs we are beginning to get that peculiar flattening of forms that are nevertheless conceived in three dimensions, so characteristic of Latin relief sculpture in this period. If we compare this diptych or the Trivulzio ivory⁴² on which are represented the two Holy Women at the Tomb, with the Sidamara sarcophagus⁴³, a characteristic Asiatic work, we will see how differently the Hellenistic tradition was handled in the West and the East; in contrast to the attempt at three-dimensional space in the Latin works we have in the East a composition which is strictly two-dimensional; «action is rendered from left to right or vice-versa but seldom inward or outward. The background is either neutral, as in classic relief, or decorated as a wall with niches, which are crowned with gabled or arched pediments and usually filled with conches. This architectural or neutral background, and the persistence of classic formulae for the figures—especially those of Praxiteles—are the characteristic symptoms of the Neo-Attic style»⁴⁴, well exemplified by the group of Asiatic sarcophagi.

As long as the Latin artist, who lacked the fine tradition of style of his Asiatic contemporary, depended rather closely upon good antique models or Greek teaching, he did not fare so badly, but once he is forced to rely upon his own skill he sinks in late periods into the lowest depths of artistic depravity; he loses all feeling for good modelling and, although he tries to retain the illusion of life by a more linear treatment as in the diptychs of Felix (A. D. 428, Fig. 6), Astyrius (A. D. 449)⁴⁵, and Boethius (A. D. 487, Fig. 4), this lack of artistic feeling prevents him from substituting beauty of line for delicate modelling. His figures become enveloped with masses of

40. Braun, *Bull. dell' Instituto*, 1851, p. 82; Pulszky, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Meyer, *op. cit.*, no. 19, p. 5, 69; Molinier, *Ivoires*, p. 27, no. 22; Westwood, *op. cit.*, p. 22, no. 63; L. von Sybel, *Christliche Antike*, 1909, II, p. 236.

41. E.g. cf. A. Heckler, in *Jb. Ost. Arch.*, I, 1919, pp. 211, 214, figs. 138 and 141; also p. 191, fig. 119.

42. Molinier, *Ivoires*, pl. VI.

43. Cf. *Mon. Piot.*, 1902, p. 189, and Pl. XVII.

44. C. R. Morey, *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, *Art Bulletin*, vol. VII, no. 2, 1924, p. 2.

45. *A Source of Mediaeval Style in France*, *Art Studies*, 1924, p. 92, fig. 17.

drapery with little or no form beneath; the hands look like empty gloves and the faces seem soft and pulpy with a peculiar ironed-out effect which is hard to describe but unforgettable when once seen. Throughout this evolution the Latin diptychs show a gradual loss of plastic weight. Thus in the diptych of Boethius (Fig. 4) we have an example of the lowest degradation of the Latin style; this formless and even ugly figure really lacks style altogether.

The Greek diptychs which begin to come in at the beginning of the sixth century are more stereotyped in general composition, the representation of the consul being nearly identical on both leaves, but here a loss in modelling and originality has given way to a decorative effect. Although little form is shown beneath the drapery this is in the main due to the heavy material of which the *toga picta* was composed and not entirely to lack of skill on the part of the artist; the heads and faces on the other hand are boldly modelled and even the hands, though the interstices between the fingers are often rendered by incised lines, are much more life-like than those on the Boethius diptych for example. The Greek artist seems to have had a number of good formulae for representing the human figure at his disposal; thus side by side with a strictly frontal figure we will often find a somewhat classic head which carries us back to Hellenistic traditions of Alexandria as in the Areobindus leaves in the Cluny Museum, Paris, and at Petrograd (Fig. 8). Nevertheless, it is a set of formulae, not nature, that he is following. The artist had the best opportunity to display his originality in the animated scenes in the arena often represented at the bottom of each leaf; here, despite the usual ignorance of perspective and the consequent use of vertical projection⁴⁶, we find delightfully lively representations of gladiators, acrobats and animals, all displaying a surprising variety of pose and gesture (Fig. 28). If we compare the leaf of the consul Areobindus (A. D. 506) in Petrograd (Fig. 8) with that of Boethius (Fig. 4) it is easy to see that one has the style which the other lacks.

It will be impossible for me in such an article as this to discuss more thoroughly the question of the Latin school of diptychs. Haseloff⁴⁷ and Dr. E. Baldwin Smith⁴⁸ have already gone into the subject of the Roman or Latin diptychs so thoroughly that but little remains to be said on the matter. In this study, therefore, I shall content myself with discussing the style of the Greek class of diptychs and with those diptychs which seem to be Latin copies of Greek originals.

Let us then consider the problem of the source of the Greek diptychs or rather the source of the style of the Greek diptychs. In Greek lands, and in the sixth century, there were three places where it is likely that such objects as the consular diptychs might have been made or where the Greek style they manifest might have been developed, namely, Antioch and Constantinople, representing the opposite poles of Asiatic

46. By vertical projection is meant the method of placing the figures of the middle ground and far-distance in zones one above the other; the figures of the upper zones as full sharers of the action tend to a certain equality in size with those below. Cf. O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art*, Oxford, 1925, p. 163 and note 1. «When marked reduction occurs, it is to accentuate the importance of the principal actors, always placed in the middle (e. g. the *Lampadiorum* diptych, Fig. 22,) and is often more

drastically applied to figures in the foreground. This procedure, often called «inverted perspective», produces results exactly contrary to those of true perspective; it is indeed based on considerations independent of aesthetic values» (Dalton, as above).

47. *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts*, XXIV, 1903, pp. 47-61.

48. *E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 231 ff., and *A Source of Mediaeval Style in France*, *Art Studies*, 1924, pp. 86-100.

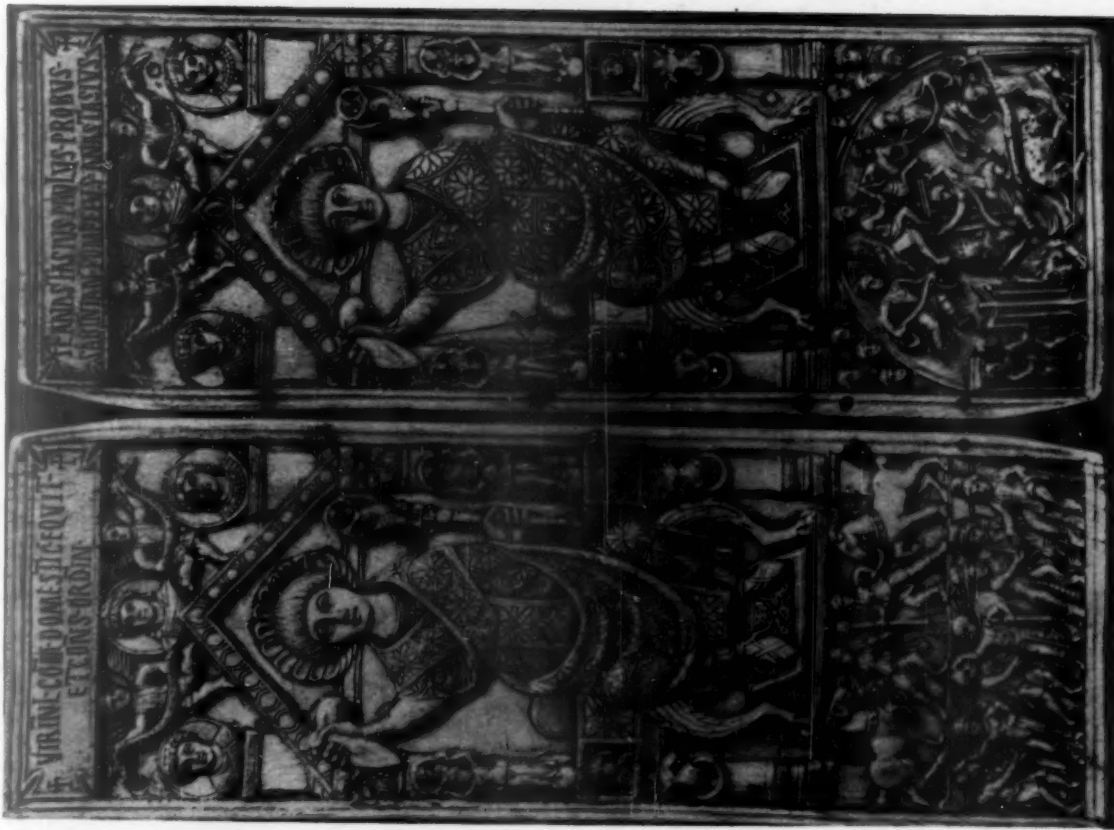


FIG. 7 — Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Diptych of Anastasius,
A. D. 517 (Photo Giraudon).



FIG. 8 — Petrograd, Museum:
Areobindus Panel, A. D. 506
(Photo Delbrueck).



FIG. 9 — London, British Museum:
Adoration of the Magi
and Nativity Panel, VIth Century.

Hellenistic culture, and Alexandria. The art of Antioch is quite unknown as far as monumental evidence is concerned but if we may predicate of it what we know of the style of Asia Minor we find that its art and that of Alexandria had one Greek feature in common, namely that the human figure is still the main vehicle of expression and is never completely subordinated to its environment. The art of Asia Minor was more conservative, however, and continued throughout its history to imitate the formulae of the fifth and particularly the fourth centuries B. C. «Recent investigation of the Asiatic sarcophagi⁴⁹ has shown that this long series of monuments, which illustrates the art of Asia Minor from the middle of the second century to the end of the fourth, commenced as an out-growth of the Neo-Attic style, at Ephesus»⁵⁰. The main features of this Neo-Attic style have previously been described in reference to the Sidamara sarcophagus; we noted that the usual architectural background was often occupied with conches; in this connection it is interesting to observe that these conches or scallop shells are always used normally as an integral part of the pediment and have their flutings radiating upward as noted by Weigand⁵¹; in Egypt and the Latin West, on the other hand, this scallop niche was often misunderstood but this misunderstanding was in one sense in Egypt and in another in the Latin West. Egypt followed the Eastern form of conch, with the flutings radiating upward, but there are many instances on Coptic stelae⁵² wherein the scallop shell is merely superficially attached to the pediment with no longer any significant relation to it. This misunderstood form of conch appears on the consular diptychs, e. g. on those of Anastasius (A. D. 517, Fig. 7) where it becomes a halo around the consul's head. This fact alone would be almost enough to prevent one from assigning the style of the Greek diptychs to Antioch and Asia Minor, but in addition there are many other features such as the prevalence of Coptic ornament, the absence of the vine motive which is so common on most Asiatic monuments, and the general figure style which has its parallels in Egypt rather than in Asia Minor.

Let us now consider what were the salient features of Alexandrian-Coptic style in the sixth century. «The optic point-of-view, the effect of which on Asiatic work was to produce a very beautiful rhythmic alternation of light and dark, was employed in Alexandrian work to give impressionistic rendering of forms, and aimed with its *chiaroscuro* not at decorative rhythm but at the illusion of life»⁵³. The Alexandrian school was by far the most realistic of the Greek Hellenistic schools⁵⁴ and, although it never completely subordinated the human figure to his environment, it went as far

49. C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, V, pt. I; *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi*, Princeton, 1924.

50. C. R. Morey, *The Sources of Med. Style*, *Art Bulletin*, vol. VII, no. 2, 1924, p. 2.

51. *Jb. arch. Inst.*, 1914, p. 72 ff., and *Beilage*.

52. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, *catalogue générale du Musée du Caire* (Vienna, 1904), pp. 40-41, nos. 7295, 7296, 7297, 7298, and nos. 7328 and 8781, p. 125 (hereafter referred to as Strzygowski, *K. K. cat.*). Bye, *Coptic Style*, also notes one type of scallop shell which is peculiarly Coptic, in that the hinge terminates in a ball. Among the monuments which are either definitely Coptic or generally ascribed to that provenance, on which this motive appears,

are the following: a stele in the Cairo museum (Crum, *Catalogue générale du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1902), no. 8686, pl. I, and no. 8687, pl. XXXII); henceforth referred to as Crum, *Cairo Cat.*: the Berlin sacred diptych (Fig. 15, and Vöge, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen epochen; Die Elfenbeinbildwerke* (Berlin, 1902), pl. 2; Venturi, I, figs. 383-384); the diptych of Tongres (Molinier, *Ivoires*, p. 55); the diptych in Brescia (Molinier, *op. cit.*, no. 59; Venturi, *Storia*, I, fig. 358) and the Archangel Michael leaf in the British Museum (Molinier, *op. cit.*, pl. V; Dalton, *East Christian Art*, pl. XXXVI).

53. C. R. Morey, *The Sources of Med. Style*, p. 5.

54. Guy Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (Oxford, 1920), p. 20.

as a true Greek could well go in that respect. « The style employs a casual placing of the figures, in real and therefore unlimited space, and a wide range of formulae for posture and movement. The figures and faces also, instead of retaining the old classic distortion whereby head and torso are represented in their broadest aspect, are rendered in three-quarters view, or, indeed, in any aspect that fits their meaning. Instead of Neo-Attic flatness, we have lithe figures boldly modelled and alert; if any canon of classic art is imitated, it is that of Lysippus rather than that of Praxiteles »⁵⁵.

This style is known chiefly through monuments of the fourth and fifth centuries but it is possible to reconstruct its evolution and go back as early as the first century for illustrations. Thus the Hellenistic reliefs with landscape backgrounds belong to the Alexandrian category whether executed in that city or not⁵⁶; the sketchy impressionism of certain bone and ivory carving belongs to the same class, as does also the ivory pyxis at Berlin on iconographical grounds as well as style⁵⁷. In these ivories we have the same realistic composition, the same free movement and posture, and the same impressionistic handling of the hair and features as is exemplified in the ivory carvings associated with the Maximianus chair which is now usually assigned to Alexandria at least in regard to its figure style⁵⁸.

Now if we examine those Greek diptychs of the early sixth century of which those of Areobindus (A. D. 506, Fig. 8) and of Magnus (A. D. 518, Fig. 27) are typical, we shall find that their analogies with Coptic paintings and ivories of the fifth and sixth centuries are most striking. The representation of the Ascension of Christ in Chapel XVII (Fig. 11) at Bawit⁵⁹, in a ruined monastery in Upper Egypt the paintings of which date from the fifth to the seventh centuries, is remarkably similar to the Areobindus leaf in Petrograd (Fig. 8); there is the same general composition with the figure represented as seated in strict frontality upon a chair without any back and adorned with a cushion; even the position of the right hand is similar while the left hand in one case holds a book and in the other a sceptre. In both instances the body is covered in heavy drapery with little attempt to show the form beneath but the exposed portions,

55. C. R. Morey, l. c.

56. « Schreiber's attribution of the whole series to Alexandria is not now accepted without reservation, but Dickins (*op. cit.*, p. 29 ff.), is inclined to ascribe to that city the pastoral variety with which we are particularly concerned. The style is in any case characteristic of works produced in Alexandria from the fourth century A. D. onward, as is shown by its persistent appearance on those Early Christian monuments the Alexandrian origin of which is assured » (C. R. Morey, as above, p. 5 note 1).

57. Dalton (*East Christian Art*, p. 208) states that the altar by which Abraham stands in the representation of the Sacrifice of Isaac on the Berlin pyxis, is a conventional representation of the Persian fire-altar, basing his assertion on a somewhat similar altar or chalice which appears on a Christian mosaic discovered near Gaza in 1917 (*Burl. Mag.* Jan., 1919, p. 3; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, XXXII, p. 47). This analogy is not of especial weight; on the mosaic of Shellai near Gaza there appears a bird with a radiate nimbus, apparently nested among sticks in a chalice. If this bird is the phoenix, the chalice, by a kind of mystical substitution, would perhaps replace the altar upon which, according to the Physiologus, the sacred bird burned itself in the city of Heliopolis (Dalton in *Burl. Mag.*, *op. cit.*,

cf. p. 4, and pl.). Even if this were so the chalice or altar has no denticulation on its upper edge, a characteristic feature of the altar on the Berlin pyxis (Cf. W. Vöge, *Elfenbeinwerke*, no. 1; Dalton, *East Christian Art*, pl. XXXIV) and which is found on similar altars in Alexandria and Egypt (Alison Smith, in *A. J. A.*, 1921, p. 164, figs. 4 and 5). This type of altar is also identified as Alexandrian by Rostowzew (*Röm. Mitt.*, 1911, p. 66) who cites further examples. The fresco at El Bagawat with the same subject has a similar altar. For the iconographical argument see Alison Smith, *A. J. A.*, 1921, p. 164.

58. On this point cf. Baldwin Smith's article in the *A. J. A.*, 1917, pp. 22-38, entitled *The Alexandrian Origin of the Chair of Maximianus*.

59. The date of chapel XVII is discussed by C. R. Morey in *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, (Princeton, 1914), p. 69-71; Clédat, *Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, vol. 12, p. 83, discussing the graffiti of Chapel XVII, states that they could not be later than the eighth or even the seventh century. Evidence for the date of the monastery is summed up by W. E. Crum, in *Der heilige Apollo und das Kloster von Bawit*, in *Z. f. ägypt. Sprache*, XI, 1902. Cf. also Dalton, *B. A. and. A.*, p. 235.

such as the hands and face, are boldly modelled; the wide-open staring eyes with an emphasis on the lower lid are found on both the fresco and the ivory. This treatment of the face and eyes is well shown in a Coptic painting of the archangel Michael in the British Museum⁶⁰ where the same convention of strict frontality is followed.

The analogies between the diptychs of this class and those ivories generally assigned to Egypt by most authorities are even more obvious. On a panel in the British Museum (Fig. 9) on which is depicted the Adoration of the Magi and the Nativity, we see in the figure of the Madonna the same characteristic features such as the strict frontality of the whole figure, the bold modelling of the face and hands, the staring eyes with an overemphasis on the lower lid, and the swathing of the body in heavy draperies, as noted above in the fresco at Bawit. We have as well the symmetrical pair of half-figures of angels which give depth to the group, and correspond to the personifications or other personages that flank the consul (Fig. 8). This plaque, and what appears to be the central panel of the other leaf of the same book cover (now in the Collection Martin Le Roy at Paris) are closely related to the group of ivories generally assigned to Egypt on account of style and iconography, the best example of which is the Murano book cover (Fig. 10) now in the Civic Museum at Ravenna⁶¹.

The iconographical evidence alone is almost sufficient to establish the Coptic provenance of the Murano book cover; Christ, represented as beardless, carries a sceptre-cross in all the scenes in which He appears; in the Nativity scene Joseph is present, Mary reclines upon a mattress, the Child lies in swaddling clothes on a brick manger, and Salome with her withered hand is represented; Mary's ordeal by the Bitter Waters occurs on the Stroganoff fragment of the book cover, as well as the Journey to Bethlehem and the Annunciation with Mary seated in a high-backed chair. All these are Alexandrian-Coptic, or Coptic iconographical details, the discussion of which does not here immediately concern us but which are accepted by such authorities as Strzygowski⁶², who attributes the book cover to the art of upper Egypt, Ainaloff⁶³, Stuhlfauth⁶⁴, and Dr. E. Baldwin Smith⁶⁵. The stylistic and ornamental details offer an even more convincing argument for assigning this book cover to Egypt, for no other ivory or, for that matter, no one single monument of Early Christian art contains so many of the Coptic stylistic motives assembled together. The Coptic dentil and bead border, the peculiar belt-like fold of the *pallium*, the treatment of the hair and eyes, the overhanging scallop-shell or baldaquin are all details of style which are prevalent on the monuments which are definitely known to be of Egyptian origin⁶⁶.

60. W. de Gröneisen, *Les caractéristiques de l'art copte* (Florence, 1922), pl. XLVI.

61. Half of the Murano book cover is preserved in the Civic Museum in Ravenna; the other half is scattered about in private collections. The central panel of the latter half, formerly in the collection of the Earl of Crawford, is now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, (Cf. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 189, fig. 114); the bottom plaque was in the Stroganoff Collection in Rome, and the left plaque is cut into halves, which are in the Botkin collection at Petrograd.

62. *Hellenistische und koptische Kunst in Alexandria* (Vienna, 1902) p. 85-88, figs. 262-94.

63. *Hellenistic Origins*, 54 (Russian) quoted by Dalton *B. A. and A.*, p. 209.

64. *Elfenbeinplastik* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 113.

65. *E. Christ. Icon.*, pp. 98, 106, 119, 171, 176, 186. Cf. also Table VI, no. 60.

66. Most of these ornamental details will be discussed in more detail later. At this point I shall merely mention that Bye (*Coptic Style*) finds that the bead border appears on such Coptic monuments as certain stelae in the Cairo museum (Crum, *Cairo Cat.*, pl. XLVI, XX, LIII, nos. 8671, 8669, 8662, 8614, 8511, 6700), a stela in the British Museum, (Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, fig. 80, p. 150); an ampulla from Akmin, (Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfeld von Achmin-Panopolis*, Strasburg, 1893, pl. IX 12); a wooden fragment in the Cairo Museum (no. 7329); a clay lamp in the British Museum from Cairo of about

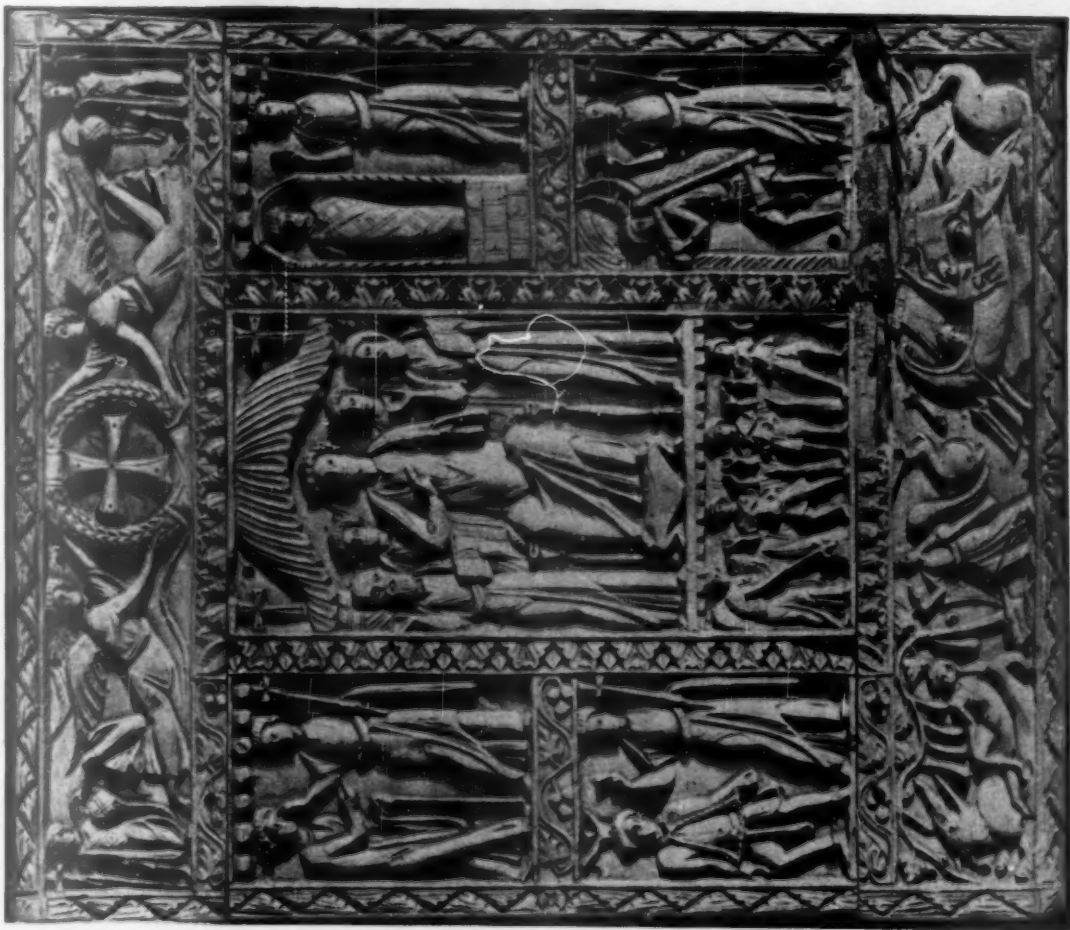


FIG. 10 — Ravenna, Museum: Murano Book Cover
(Photo Alinari).

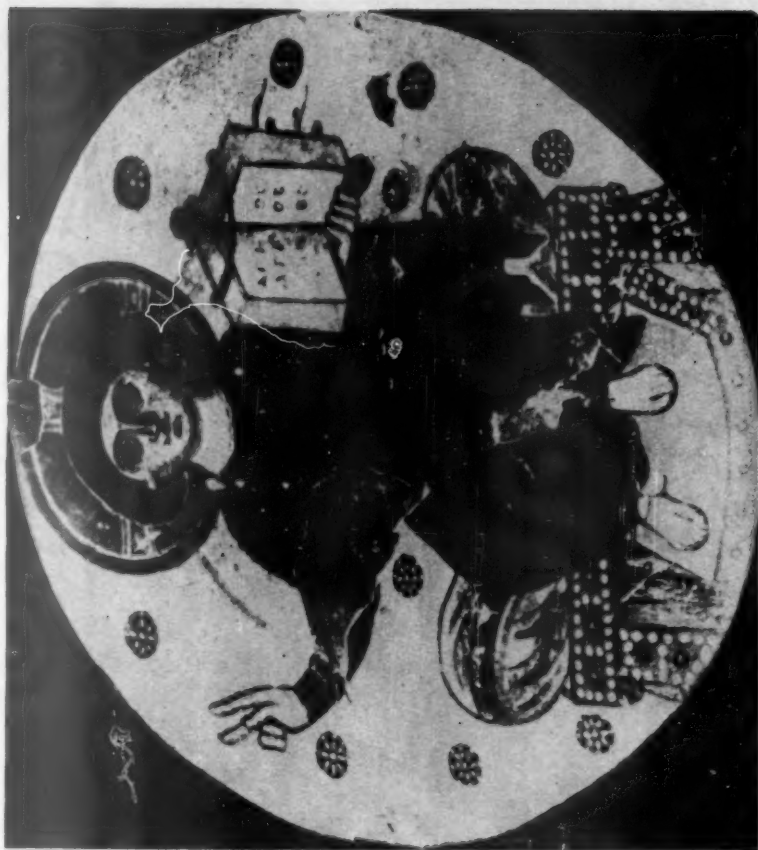


FIG. 11 — Ravenna: Detail of Fresco.



FIG. 12 — Ravenna: Panel from Chair of Maximianus,
Scene from Life of Joseph (Photo Alinari).



FIG. 13 — Ravenna: *Maximianus Chair, Detail, Nativity.*



FIG. 15 — Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum: *Sacred Diptych (Photo Delbrueck).*



FIG. 14 — Ravenna: *Panel From Maximianus Chair, Healing of Blind Man.*



FIG. 16 — Ravenna: *Panel from Maximianus Chair, Scene from Life of Joseph (Photo Alinari).*

The British Museum Adoration panel (Fig. 9), heretofore mentioned in connection with the Areobindus diptych, even if it were not closely connected with the group of the Murano book cover would surely fall into the Alexandrian-Coptic group on account of its style and iconography. We find, for instance, the Coptic representation of the Nativity with the Virgin reclining on a mattress and Salome with the withered hand⁶⁷ and as well as the Coptic bead and reel and the Coptic dentil used under a low arch.

In speaking of this group of ivories associated with the Murano book cover which are so generally assigned to the School of Alexandria, or to Upper Egypt, I have made frequent reference to various types of Coptic ornament which appear on them and which for the most part are peculiar to the Alexandrian-Coptic group. As many of these ornamental motives, as well as some additional ones which can also be assigned to Egypt, are found on the consular diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class it may be well at this point to examine them more in detail.

Coptic art was essentially conservative and unoriginal and thus depended upon Hellenistic and Oriental sources for its ornamental motives. True to Egyptian prejudice which could never wholly accept the Greek ideals of beauty the Copts devitalized these Hellenistic and Oriental motives; the result was usually a more formalized and stylized kind of ornament than the Greek, less decorative than the Oriental and one essentially Coptic in spirit. The chief ornamental motives of this character which appear on the Areobindus-Magnus class of consular diptychs are as follows.

The bead and reel moulding was at first retained in its classical form by the Copts but later occurs as a series of lozenges, separated by straight lines as on the Barberini diptych in the Louvre (Fig. 33 *a*), which is now generally assigned to Alexandria on account of its many points of similarity to the Maximianus cathedra and from other stylistic considerations⁶⁸. In other words the bead is debased to a diamond shape, while the reel is no longer understood to be such. In the center of the lozenge is often drilled a small dot⁶⁹ as on the Barberini ivory (Fig. 33 *a*). The ivory book cover in the Bib-

the seventh century (Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche, byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke*, Berlin, K. Museum: *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, 1909, pl. XL, no. 831; hereafter referred to as Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*); some carved bone fragments in the Berlin Museum from Cairo, of about the seventh century (Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*, pls. XXVII, XXIX, nos. 626, 645, 646, 664, and others) on the St. Menas ampullae in the Berlin museum (Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*, pl. LXIX, nos. 1365, 1385, 1396, 1467 and others).

⁶⁷ In addition to using the shell niche in an abnormal fashion the Copts seem to have endeavored to use the scallop as a canopy or a baldachin. On a wall painting in a niche of the Monastery of St. Jeremias (Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 285, fig. 174) there is to be seen what is evidently a painted representation of this device. (Bye, *op. cit.*, p. 74). The Coptic baldachin also appears, as Bye noted, on the Manchester ivory (Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 189), fig. 114, the Daniel pyxis in the British Museum, (Dalton, *B. M. Cat.*, pl. X) and on the Stroganoff ivory in Rome (Graeven, *Frühchristliche und mittelalterliche Elfenbeinwerke der christlichen Epochen*, no. 11).

⁶⁸ Dr. E. Baldwin Smith (*E. Christ. Icon.*, p. 24 ff.) finds three sets of proofs that connect the Salome type of the Nativity with the Coptic art of Egypt. They are; the Coptic character of the style and ornament of most

of the monuments on which the type occurs, the Coptic origin of Salome in apocryphal literature, and the moral and religious concepts of the Copts which required the introduction of the doubting Salome into the scene to prove the absolute spiritual nature of Christ. Among the Coptic monuments on which this type appears are the Maximianus chair, a fresco of Bawit, a Coptic ivory of Bologna, some pyxides in Vienna, Berlin and Werden, all of which are Coptic in style and ornament, and lastly the Murano book cover group.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of this relationship, cf. Baldwin Smith, *The Alexandrian Origin of the Chair of Maximianus*, *A. J. A.*, 1917, p. 22-38.

⁶⁹ Bye observes (*Coptic Style*) that this use of the dot in a circle is a very common Egyptian and Coptic practice. Goodyear, in his *Grammar of the Lotus* (London, 1891) p. 81, pl. VII, devotes a chapter to the problem of concentric rings, wherein he seeks to show that the dot and circle and its derivative, the concentric rings, are of ancient Egyptian origin and thence spread to other parts of the world, even as far as the lands inhabited by the Eskimo and the American Indian. While it is not necessary to adhere to his theory in its entirety the fact remains that the Egyptians seem to have been particularly fond of this motive. We find the dot and circle appearing on scarabs, and especially on combs; ancient Carthaginian grave stelae

liothèque Nationale⁷⁰ which is also closely related to the Maximianus cathedra group has a similar bead and reel moulding but the dots are here omitted. On the Maximianus cathedra it appears on several panels representing the life of Christ; in the Nativity panel (Figs. 13, 33 c) it occurs as rude diamonds separated by crude ovals; in the Entry into Jerusalem the beads between the diamonds become rectangles, and in the Healing of the Blind Man (Figs. 14, 33 b) the diamonds or lozenges are separated by balls, with or without dots.

The ivory throne known as the Maximianus chair is undoubtedly of Oriental origin and though Strzygowski⁷¹ would assign it to Antioch rather than Alexandria, Ainaloff⁷², Dütschke⁷³, Diehl⁷⁴ and Baldwin Smith⁷⁵ prefer the latter attribution; Dalton⁷⁶, who in his *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* assigned the chair to Antioch, has left the question open in his recent *East Christian Art*. Even Wulff⁷⁷, a most pronounced exponent of Strzygowski's tendency to attribute all unattached works to a Syrian school, concludes that it was probably executed by Syrian artists in Alexandria. Some of the ornament, especially the use of the vine-motive, which, as we have noted, is significant by its absence on the consular diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class, is Syrian in origin, but its vigorous figure style, its many iconographical details which are only found on objects of Egyptian origin, as well as its impressionistic technique which is so characteristic of the Alexandrian School all point to that attribution⁷⁸.

The Coptic bead and reel appears on the Magnus (A. D. 518, Figs. 27, 33 g) and Clementinus (A. D. 513, Fig. 33 e) diptychs; in the former case the diamond or lozenge is separated by two ovals which still have a fairly close resemblance to a reel; while in the latter it appears as a decorative motive on the footstool, the lozenge being separated by circles, a variation of the type used in the panel from the Maximianus Chair on which was represented the Healing of the Blind Man (Fig. 14). In the British Museum Adoration panel (Figs. 9, 33 f) aforementioned we find a bead and reel moulding quite similar to the Magnus type though only half the reel is represented.

The egg and dart moulding may be said to have been replaced by the large bead or ball border in Coptic art. It still occurs, however, in a few instances such as the stone capitals at Sakkara⁷⁹ of the fifth and sixth centuries and in a stone acanthus frieze in

also were decorated with the dot and circle. Bye observed that it was used in Coptic art in the following monuments: in the bridal chest in the Cairo museum (Strzygowski, *K. K. cat.*, nos. 7060-7064, pls. XI-XIII, pp. 172-177; Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII; also Maspero, *Musée des antiquités égyptiennes, Catalogue générale*, Cairo, 1908, 5664, 5669, pl. 586, 7); in the Bawit frescoes, Chapel XXVIII, (Cledat, *op. cit.*, pl. XCV); on some wooden combs in the Cairo Museum (Strzygowski, *K. K. cat.*, pl. VIII, nos. 8826-8838); on wooden combs in the Berlin museum, (Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*, pl. IX, X, XI); on various objects of utility in the Cairo Museum, such as stone handles, weights, pendants, needles, etc. (Cf. Strz., *K. K. cat.*, p. 109 ff., nos. 8763, 8764, 8766, 8767, 8769, 8770, 8771, and p. 143, figs. 213 and 214, nos. 8818, and 8819, also fig. 212); also in the Berlin Museum (Cf. Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*, pl. XII, nos. 542, 546, 547, 590, and 600, pls. XXIII and XXIV). There are numerous other monuments which could also be cited but this is sufficient to show that the motive of a dot within a circle is a very common one in Coptic

art. Thus when we find it appearing on the bead of the bead and reel motive as in the Barberini diptych in the Louvre, the panels of the Maximianus chair, and on the Berlin sacred diptych, it is additional evidence for the Egyptian origin of these monuments.

70. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 207, fig. 124.

71. Mschatta, in *Jb. der Preuss. Kunsts.*, 1904, p. 300.

72. *Hellenistic Origins* (Russian) quoted by Dalton, 34, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

73. *Ravennatische Studien*, p. 279.

74. *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 1909, p. 281.

75. Baldwin Smith, *The Alexandrian Origin of the Chair of Maximianus*, *A. J. A.*, 1917, p. 22-38.

76. *B. A. and A.*, p. 203; *East Christian Art*, p. 206.

77. *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin, 1914, p. 190.

78. For a summary of the evidence of the Alexandrian origin of the chair cf. Baldwin Smith, *op. cit.*, note 68.

79. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Sakkara, 1907-1908, Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1909) pl. XVI.

the Berlin Kaiser-Friedrich Museum from Medinet-el-Fajum⁸⁰ of the same date. It appears in this form on the diptych of Anastasius (A. D. 517) in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 7) and the leaves in Berlin and South Kensington, and on the Magnus examples in Paris (Figs. 27, 29) Liverpool (Fig. 30) and Petrograd (Fig. 31). In the former case we have a curious instance of carelessness or indifference on the part of the craftsman for on one of the leaves in the Bibliothèque Nationale the eggs are separated by the usual dart while on the other the egg alone appears⁸¹.

The dentil border, though a misunderstood classical motive in Coptic art, is often used in such a way as to suggest its original purpose or use on a cornice. This is true when it is placed underneath a frame enclosing a scene. It is thus that it appears on a bone carving in Berlin, from Gizeh⁸², representing an archway over a cornice and dated by Wulff in the fourth or fifth century. The dentils here have a more or less logical relationship to their setting but are too large and prominent for their position. On the Murano book cover (Figs. 10, 33 *b*) they are very similar to the dentils of the Berlin bone carving, as occurring underneath a framework, and are but crudely designed; and on some of the side panels of the Maximianus chair with scenes from the life of Joseph they are beneath a straight entablature and reminiscent of their cornice derivation, although the dentils are too large and prominent to be true dentils (Figs. 12, 33 *i*). They occur in a similar fashion on the Etschmiadzin book cover (Fig. 17) and on the panel from the John Rylands' Library at Manchester⁸³. But sometimes, too, the cornice derivation is entirely forgotten, as when this motive is used as moulding or border to a low archway over figures in niches or as a border surrounding a frame. The former use seems to be peculiarly Coptic in spirit and occurs on the following monuments, which from other points of style and peculiarities can hardly be other than Coptic.

On the Adoration panel in the British Museum (Figs. 9, 33 *f*) it occurs under a low archway in connection with the Coptic bead and reel moulding; we find it used in this case along with an egg and dart moulding over the figures in a niche in the front panels of the Maximianus Chair (Fig. 18). On the diptych of Tongres⁸⁴, the panel originally in the Spitzer collection which has the Coptic staring eye and the scallop shell with the ball hinge⁸⁵, the dentils are employed under a low or segmental arch as in the front panels of the Maximianus Chair. It is used in a similar manner on the Berlin sacred diptych (Figs. 15, 33 *e*) which is closely related to the Ravenna chair and has other Coptic characteristics such as the Coptic bead and reel moulding, the scallop shell with the ball hinge, the use of balls at the intersections of the cuspidal mould-

80. Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*, I, p. 70, no. 208.

81. On the Anastasius leaves the egg and dart decoration is used on the gable over the consul's head while on the Magnus diptychs it appears as decoration for the sides of the consul's footstool.

82. Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*, no. 438, pl. XIX.

83. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 189, fig. 114.

84. Molinier, *Ivoires*, p. 55.

85. Bye notes the form of scallop shell which has a hinge terminating in a ball as peculiarly Coptic. It appears on the following monuments which are either definitely Egyptian in origin or which, from style and ornament,

are generally attributed to that provenance: two stelae in the Cairo museum (Crum, *Cairo Cat.*, pls. L and XXXII, nos. 8686 and 8697); the Berlin sacred diptych (cf. Fig. 15); the diptych of Tongres (Molinier, *Ivoires*, p. 44; Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 193; the Poet and Muse diptych in the Treasury of the Cathedral at Monza, Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 46); the diptych in Cremona, coll. Ala-Ponzana (Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, 1880, 453, 2 and 3); and the Archangel Michael leaf in the British Museum (Molinier, *op. cit.*, pl. V; Dalton, *B. M. Cat.*, pl. VIII, and *East Christian Art*, pl. XXXVI); in the last-named panel the shell, under an archway, is partly covered by a laurel wreath.

ings⁸⁶ and the general figure style. Other ivories on which this motive occurs are the diptych of the Poet and Muse at Monza⁸⁷, the book cover in the Bibliothèque Nationale⁸⁸, the Etschmiadzin book cover⁸⁹ (Fig. 17), the so-called Hippolytus and Phaedra diptych at Brescia⁹⁰, the pyxis in the Museo Oliveriano⁹¹, Pesaro, and the archangel Michael ivory⁹² in the British Museum (Fig. 33 f). On this plaque, which is sometimes assigned to Antioch or Constantinople instead of to Alexandria, it occurs as a mere strip across the base of the lunette but also as the innermost moulding to the archway. The motif is used as a border surrounding the « Citadel of Faith (?) » in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin⁹³, which also has a dentil border; it is dated by Wulff from the fifth to the sixth century.

Thus we see that the Copts made frequent use of the dentil motive. It is seldom well executed; the blocks are usually rudely cut and irregularly spaced as well as too large and prominent; the cornice derivation is either entirely forgotten as when it is used under a low archway or as border surrounding a frame, or so badly misunderstood as to be almost unrecognizable.

The use of such dentils is quite common on the diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class. On the diptychs of Clementinus (A. D. 513)⁹⁴ at Liverpool they are used as a border for the cartouche and of the side-panels of the consular chair; on the Anastasius leaves at Berlin and South Kensington⁹⁵ the motif appears only as a border for the side-panels of the chair while on the diptychs of Orestes (A. D. 530, Fig. 32) and of Justinus⁹⁶ (540, Fig. 33 f) they are similarly employed as a border for the cartouche. The dentil motive was even more extensively used as a moulding or border to a low archway, which,

86. Bye makes an interesting statistic concerning the use of a cuspidate moulding. It is evidently a Coptic adaptation of the Syrian cuspidate outer moulding which is formed by a series of small inverted arches or cusps, and is generally found about windows or doorways of Syrian churches and houses, and particularly over archways. It appears, for instance, in the fifth century on the south wall of the Chapel at Kfër (Butler, *Architecture and other Arts*, N. Y., 1903, p. 150); on the interior wall of the Chapel at Srir, *ibid.*, p. 151; on the East church at Bakirha, 546, (*ibid.*, p. 212); in the sixth century it is found on the west front of the Baptistery at Baskmishli (*ibid.*, p. 239); in the entrance to a villa at Ruwêha (*ibid.*, p. 262); and in a doorway at Silaya, *ibid.*, p. 31, etc.

« But all these examples differ in one respect from the Coptic, in that the latter has added to the moulding large round balls at the points of contact between the inverted half circles. This gives the moulding the appearance of a crown, especially where it occurs over an archway. These balls on the Coptic examples must not be mistaken for buds. In ancient Assyrian art conventionalized buds were placed on this cuspidate moulding and on border designs with the cusp motive, and we find this also in one instance on a Coptic stele in the Cairo Museum (Crum, *Cairo Cat.*, no. 8710, pl. LVI). The ball or knob is Coptic, and in Coptic art these latter are placed not only on the spikes of the cusps but often in between as well » (Bye, p. 58).

This Coptic form of cuspidate moulding is found on the following monuments: a stele in the Cairo Museum from Esneh, where the balls are placed in the half circle as well as on the points of the moulding (Crum, *Cairo Cat.*, no. 8671, pl. XLVI); Bawit, frescoes in Chapel XVIII and XX (Clédat, *op. cit.*, pls. LXII and LXXXIV); as a border to friezes, and in Chapel XXVI (*ibid.*, pl. LXXXV); as a

border; also in Chapel XXVIII. The motif is also found in a fresco at Sakkara (Quibell, pl. 1, 2); on the ivory panel in the Bargello representing an Empress, dated by Dalton and Modigliani in the sixth century (Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 213, fig. 128); and on the Berlin sacred diptych, mentioned above (Cf. Figs. 15 and 33 k).

87. Molinier, *Ivoires*, p. 46, no. 62.

88. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 207, fig. 124.

89. This book cover is closely associated with the Maximianus Chair group as is the book cover in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Dalton, as in the case of the chair, now leaves the question of its origin open, though he formerly leaned towards Antioch rather than Alexandria (*East Christian Art*, p. 206, cf. Strzygowski, *Byz. Denkmäler*, I: *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangelium*).

90. Molinier, *Ivoires*, p. 14, no. 59.

91. Venturi, *Storia*, I, figs. 402, 403.

92. Dalton, *B. M. Cat.*, pl. VIII, and *East Christian Art*, p. 210, pl. XXXVI; for arguments cf. Dalton's, *B. A. and A.*, p. 195; Strzygowski, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVII, 1907, p. 99 ff., and *Burl. Mag.*, 1907, p. 10.

93. This is a wood carving, which once probably surmounted a pilaster, from Eshmuncin in Egypt (Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*, no. 243, pl. VII; Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom?*, 1901, pl. III, p. 65).

94. Venturi, *Storia*, I, p. 367, figs. 338 and 339; cf. also *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Catalogue of bronzes and ivories of European origin exhibited in 1879* (London, 1879) p. 34, pl. VII.

95. Volbach, *Die Elfenbeinbildwerke* (1923) I, pl. 2, no. 7432 and A. Maskell, *Ivoires* (London, 1905) pl. VII, 2.

96. Volbach, *op. cit.*, I, p. 4, pl. 5, no. 3367; also *Burl. Mag.*, 1914, pl. opposite p. 48.

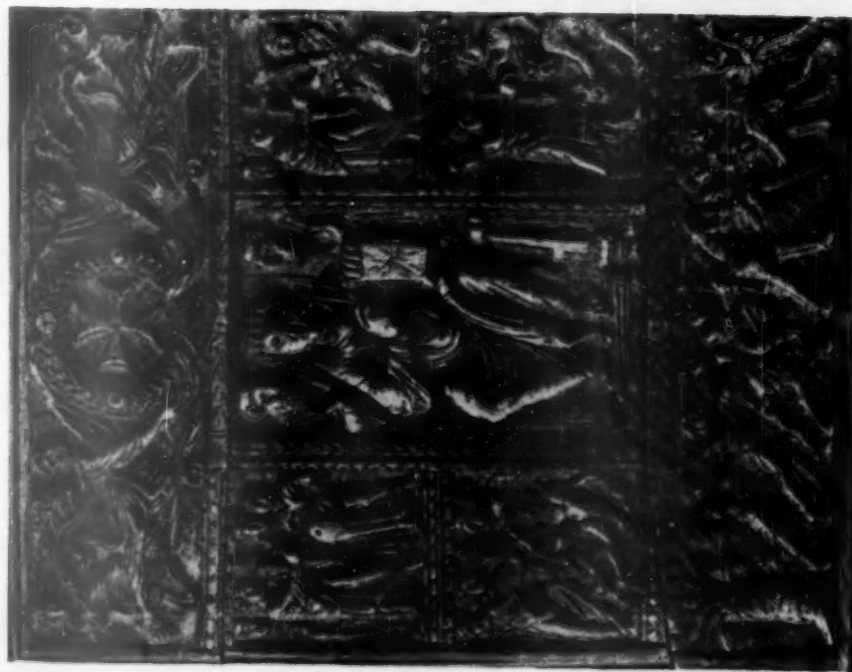


FIG. 17 — Etchmiadzin: Ivory Book Cover.



FIG. 18 — Ravenna: Front Panels of Maximianus Chair
(Photo Alinari).



FIG. 19 — Milan, Trivulzio Collection: Panels of "Composite", Diptych
(Photo Delbruck).



FIG. 20 — Paris, Lower: Barberini Diptych, Lower Panel
(Photo Delbruck).

as we have stated, seems to be peculiarly Coptic in spirit. We find it thus employed on the diptychs of Areobindus in Paris (Fig. 8) and Petrograd, of Clementinus at Liverpool, and of Orestes at South Kensington (Figs. 32, 33 *m*).

One of the most common ornamental motives on the consular diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class is the lancet-leaf or rosette; starting with the simplest form of single lancet-leaves or lotus petals grouped around a central axis we find many varieties of more complicated forms of which the eight or sixteen petal form is most common. The lancet leaf motive is not confined to Coptic art, as it occurs in Syrian, Palestinian and Provençal works. Its use was ancient and general. In ancient Egyptian art⁹⁷ it was probably a derivative of the lotus, but when one sees it on the mummy clothes on examples in the Louvre⁹⁸ and elsewhere it would seem to be a simple geometric pattern, the result of interpenetrating circles. When these circles are interlocked, the segments thus formed especially when colored variously, form a sort of diaper pattern with pointed leaf forms standing out against a background. Many such diaper patterns appear on textiles of Egypt, Syria and Persia. We also find them in sculpture, as on a stele in the Cairo Museum⁹⁹, which is reminiscent of old Egyptian textile patterns. A similar diaper pattern with lancet leaves occurs in the Magnus diptychs (Figs. 27, 30, 31), on the fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale and Milan and the leaves in Liverpool and Petrograd. It also is found on the Areobindus leaves in the Cluny Museum and in Petrograd¹⁰⁰ (Fig. 8).

Even more Egyptian is the use of the four petal lancet leaf motive as a border separated by vertical lines or stripes. On the bridal chest in the Cairo Museum¹⁰¹ this ornament is conspicuous. Here the leaves or petals are placed like a four-pointed star or quatrefoil, set in square metopes separated by vertical lines reminiscent of triglyphs and repeated to make a border or frieze; or the quatrefoil is repeated without any separating lines. In the first form, (that is with the quatrefoil or four-petal lancet leaf separated by lines), it appears on the Areobindus leaf in the Cluny Museum (Fig. 28), on the diptych of the consul Anastasius (A. D. 517, Fig. 7) in the Bibliothèque Nationale and on the leaf of the same consul in South Kensington¹⁰²; in the Areobindus leaf it is used as decoration of the balustrade around the arena; in the Anastasius leaves it appears as a decorative motive on the architrave separating the two scenes in the lower register and also on the embroidered toga of the consul's father Pompeius of whom a medallion bust appears on the Paris example. In the Areobindus leaf in Petrograd (Fig. 8) this second variety of four-petal lancet leaf border is found; it appears on the balustrade around the arena as in the leaf of the same consul in Paris but is here continuous and is not separated by vertical lines¹⁰³.

97. Numerous examples in Owen Jones, *Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856), pls. IX and X.

98. Gröncisen, *Les caractéristiques de l'art copte* (1922), pls. XIII, XIV, XV, XVI.

99. Gayet, *L'art copte* (Paris, 1902), p. 227, and Crum, *Cairo Cat.*, pl. XL, no. 8633.

100. On the Cluny leaf this pattern appears on the drapery hanging over the consul's right arm; it here lacks the central dots which appear between the lancet leaves and which give continuity to the pattern as employed elsewhere.

101. Strzygowski, *K. K. cat.*, pl. XII, nos. 7060-7064; Gröncisen, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII.

102. A. Maskell, *Ivories*, pl. VII, 2.

103. The Anastasius leaf in Berlin, although not having this quatrefoil or four-lancet leaf ornament arranged in a frieze, as in the examples in Paris and South Kensington, has a frieze decoration quite similar in principle. This consists of four trefoils radiating from a central ball or center and thus forming a kind of complicated quatrefoil set in square metopes separated by vertical bands. In this case the frieze is employed as facing for the balcony in which sit the spectators who are viewing the acrobatic contests below, as in the Areobindus leaves in Petrograd and Paris.

The rosette in its more complicated forms usually appears on the consular diptychs as an ornamental motive of the *toga picta* and is generally enclosed in a circle or square. One form which seems particularly Coptic is that formed by four broad, pointed oval petals, like lotus petals, radiating from a central circle, between which, and behind, are placed four more petals, and behind these again, appearing like points in the remaining spaces, are eight other petals, making a sixteen petalled lotus-rosette with the petals overlapping. In this form it is found on the following monuments; on the wooden panel in Berlin¹⁰⁴ representing the « Citadel of Faith » (?), dated by Wulff in the fifth to the sixth century, it appears on the shields of the soldiers; on a bronze plate in the Cairo Museum, No. 9039¹⁰⁵, we find it on similar shields; on the Maximianus chair it appears in the form of decoration of a mattress in the Nativity, Joseph and Potiphar's wife, Pharaoh's Dream, and on a shield in the scene of the Meeting of Joseph and Jacob. On the Berlin sacred diptych (Fig. 15) it is used to decorate the cushions upon which Christ and the Madonna are seated and upon the Saint Menas pyxis¹⁰⁶ in the British Museum it again appears as the decoration of a shield. This pyxis is closely related to the Maximianus chair group and shows by its subject its Egyptian origin.

The sixteen petal lotus-rosette is a common motive of the consular diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class; it is found on the Areobindus leaves in the Cluny Museum and in Petrograd (Fig. 8), the Anastasius diptychs in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 7), and at Berlin and South Kensington, on the Magnus (A. D. 518) fragments in Paris and Milan both on the robe and cushion, and on the diptychs of Clementinus (513 A. D.), Orestes (A. D. 530, Fig. 32), and Justinus (A. D. 540).

There is one other form of ornament which is in almost universal use in the diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class, which seems to me to be a Coptic habit. This is cross-hatching. It is of two general types; that which is most common to the consular diptychs is formed of lines set very close together, giving an effect somewhat similar to that of heavy shading except that the lines cross. It appears in this form on the following monuments all more or less surely assigned to Egypt: on a fragment of a vase of large dimensions found in Chapel XVI at Bawit¹⁰⁷ as decoration of a long *chevelure* falling from the shoulders of Christ; in the Adoration panel in the British Museum (Fig. 9) it is found on the mattress against which the Virgin reclines and on the cushion of the Madonna's throne; on the St. Menas pyxis¹⁰⁸ in the same Museum it appears as decoration of a cushion and on the *laticlavi* and *segmenta* of the costumes of various figures; it is most frequent on the Maximianus chair, especially on those panels in which the scenes from the life of Joseph (Fig. 12) are depicted; it appears there on cushions, bed covers, the sleeves and *segmenta* of the costumes, on saddlebags, and is even used to represent the hide of a sheep. On the Etschmiadzin book cover it appears on the Virgin's mattress of the Nativity and on the tapestry which is laid beneath the feet of the ass which Christ is riding in the Entrance into Jerusalem.

104. Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*, pl. VII, no. 243.

105. Strzykowski, *K. K. cat.*, pl. XXVI, no. 9039.

106. Dalton, *B. M. Cat.*, pl. IX; *East Christian Art.*, pl. XXXIV.

107. Clédat, *op. cit.*, p. 71, fig. 42.

108. See note 106.

(Fig. 17). It is also found on the central panel of a composite diptych in the John Rylands Library¹⁰⁹ (Manchester) as decoration for a mattress and on the Baptism plaque in the British Museum¹¹⁰ on the wings of the Holy Dove; this plaque is closely related to the Maximianus chair in figure style and ornament.

The second form of cross-hatching is similar to the first save that the lines are more widely spaced. In this form it is found on a wooden lintel of the fifth century in the Cairo Museum¹¹¹, on the Murano book cover (Fig. 10) as decoration of the mattress in the Healing of the Paralytic; on the Saint Menas pyxis¹¹² in the British Museum and on the Daniel pyxis¹¹³ in the same Museum, here used to present the hide of a ram; this latter pyx is surely of Egyptian origin for besides the general figure style which relates it to the Saint Menas pyxis and the Grado throne we find the use of the overhanging conch-shell or Coptic baldachin¹¹⁴ which only appears on monuments belonging to an Alexandrian or Alexandrian-Coptic atelier.

Both types appear on the consular diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class. The first variety is the more common and appears on the Areobindus leaf in the Cluny Museum on the cushion, footstool and the lower border of the toga; on the Clementinus diptych on the cushion and on the *segmenta* of the costume of Rome and Constantinople; on the Anastasius examples in Paris, Berlin and South Kensington as decoration for the tunic, the borders of the toga, the sleeves, cushion and *mappa*; on the Magnus types at Paris and Milan, Liverpool and Petrograd, on the toga and the cushion. It is also found on the diptych of Philoxenus (A. D. 525) in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 2). The second type with the wider spacing appears more rarely on the diptychs of this class but it is found on the Areobindus diptychs in the Louvre and at Bologna and in the Cluny leaf; in the first two cases it is used as decoration for the toga and in the last as a crude way of representing the hair in some of the minor figures. It appears on the Philoxenus¹¹⁵ diptych in the Bibliothèque Nationale but in a little different

109. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 189, fig. 114.

110. Dalton, *B. M. Cat.*, pl. VII, fig. 294.

111. Grünsisen, *op. cit.*, pl. LII.

112. Cf. note 106.

113. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 187, fig. 113, *B. M. Cat.*, pl. X.

114. Cf. Note 66.

115. The diptych of Philoxenus (A. D. 525) which contains three circular medallions arranged vertically and bordered by pearled or beaded bands seems at first to be exceptional among our Areobindus-Magnus diptychs. The representation of the consul, for instance, enclosed in the upper medallion of each leaf, is quite different from the usual type, as exemplified by the diptychs of Areobindus, Clementinus, Anastasius, and Magnus. Instead of the boldly-modelled features, round staring eyes, broad nose, firmly-set mouth and cap-like hair of these examples, we find here a much more naturalistic rendering. The realistic hair, the almond-shaped eyes, the narrow-bridged nose with a broad base, the sensitive mouth and the heavy powerful chin, are all reminiscent of the diptychs issued in the fifth century, such as those of Probus, Probianus, Felix, and Boethius, which we associate with the Latin style. The representation of the female figure enclosed in the medallion at the bottom of each leaf reveals the same figure-style, which is in sharp contrast to the formalized female personifications of Rome and Constantinople as they appear for example on the Magnus diptychs.

And yet the ornament on this diptych is distinctly Coptic in character. In addition to the sixteen-petal rosette and the use of cross-hatching previously discussed, we find also the whorl and the bead border, both of which Byzantine finds to be very common on Coptic monuments. The whorl, though also common on Syrian monuments, is frequently found on Coptic monuments, generally in connection with the acanthus. A stone pilaster at Sakkara, (Quibell, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV, 1) is ornamented with large circular medallions of whorls alternating with scallop shells. Here the whorl is composed of radiating Coptic acanthus leaves; It appears with the running acanthus in several monuments in the Cairo Museum (Strzygowski, *K. K. Cat.*, no. 7319). On the consular diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class it is found on the Clementinus diptych, the Anastasius leaf in Berlin, and on the Orestes diptych. The bead border is even more common in Coptic art. Some stelae in the Cairo Museum, nos. 8671, 8669, 8662, 8614, 8511, and 8700 (Crum, *Cairo cat.*, pls. XLVI, XX, and IX, LIII), show a double archway with a filling of balls. One of these has a cross inside a circular band of beads or balls; another shows the band of balls in a gable. They also appear on a stele in the British Museum of the seventh or eighth century (Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, fig. 80, p. 150). The bead border is found in the following monuments of definitely Coptic origin: on the St. Menas terracotta flasks in the Cairo Museum (Strzygowski, *K. K. Cat.*, pl. XXI, nos. 8969-8975); on an ampulla from Akmin, (Forrer, *Die*

form; the lines are widely spaced and do not cross although running in opposite directions as in the other examples. The *motif* is used in this form as decoration for the sleeves and collar.

The use of cross hatching in Alexandrian in spirit; it fits in with the Alexandrian-Coptic practice of rendering figure-subjects and ornament in an impressionistic fashion and with the optic point-of-view; furthermore I have yet to find an instance of its use in this period on a monument definitely assigned to Syria or Asia Minor.

There is one other ornamental motive used on the consular diptychs of the Arcobindus-Magnus class which seems worthy of mention. This is the scallop shell or conch. The device of using a scallop shell or conch to decorate the vault of a niche, presumably Asiatic in origin, rapidly spread over the West as well and was also taken up in Egypt. But in the Latin West and Egypt, as we have noted before¹¹⁶, the use of the scallop niche was generally misunderstood, this misunderstanding taking one form in Egypt and another in the Latin West. Weigand's¹¹⁷ statistic has shown that the conch shell with the hinge at the bottom and the flutings radiating upward is predominantly an Eastern while the downward radiation is a Western or Latin habit. The type of scallop shell with a hinge terminating in a ball and which seems peculiarly Coptic does not appear on the diptychs of the Arcobindus-Magnus class but the upward radiation is invariable. Now it has not been observed hitherto that the Coptic use of the conch is differentiated from the Asiatic by the curious tendency to detach the conch from the pediment, as if the artist wished to contrast it with the pediment rather than to amalgamate the two into harmonious unity, as in the Asiatic sarcophagi. Thus the scallop shell is thrown into high relief and the flutings tend to impinge upon the border surrounding the tympanum. Numerous examples of this practice are found on Coptic stelae and portals in the Cairo Museum¹¹⁸; on the Berlin sacred diptych (Fig. 15) the conch with the ball hinge is used and has the same detachment from the pediment; so also in the Maximianus chair the front panels demonstrate a similar misunderstanding of the scallop niche (Fig. 18). In the Anastasius (A. D. 517) diptychs in the

frühchristlichen Alterthümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmin-Panopolis, pl. IX, 2); on a fragment of a keystone in the Cairo museum, No. 8853 (Strzygowski, *K.K. Cat.*, fig. 224); on a fragment of a keystone in the Cairo museum, no. 7326, of the fourth or fifth century; on a large terra-cotta ampulla in the British Museum of red ware, with the figure of the Virgin and Child under an archway, all within a circular border of beads. Dalton (*B. M. Cat.*, p. 154, no. 903), states that the last-named example must have come from Egypt, from the shrine of St. Menas near Alexandria, and must date in the fourth to the sixth centuries. Cf. also the St. Menas ampullae in the Berlin Museum (Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*, pl. LXIX, nos. 1365, 1385, 1396, 1457, and others).

The motive of the knotted band is itself Coptic and frequently occurs in Coptic textiles of the fifth and sixth centuries (e. g. cf. Forrer, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII). The knots were first generally used as a way of treating the ends of *lemnisci*. The Egyptian source of the motive is confirmed by the Bawit finds, (Clédat, *Mémoires*, pls. LXIX, LXX, LXXI, LXXVIII, LXXIX. Lethaby traces the motive in other Coptic monuments (Cf. *Burl. Mag.*, vol. X, p. 265, fig. 1).

How then can we explain this prevalence of Coptic ornament in conjunction with such a realistic figure style?

We can either assign it to some such center as Constantinople where such an eclectic combination might have occurred or, and I think more logically, attribute it to a portraitivory carver working in an Alexandrian or Alexandrian-Coptic atelier. The representation of the consul is clearly a portrait and is much superior as a realistic rendering to any of the representations on the diptychs of the late fifth century as well as to the other diptychs of the Arcobindus-Magnus group. It is but natural, it seems to me, that an artist who wished to make a faithful portrayal of his patron should depart from the normal mode of his atelier where a decorative, formalized representation was in vogue rather than a naturalistic rendering. The female figure in the lower medallion, which has usually been taken as a personification of Constantinople, also by coiffure and costume is clearly a portrait, perhaps of the wife of the consul who has assumed the rôle of the personification of the city.

116. Cf. notes 2 and 51.

117. *Jb. arch. Inst.*, 1914, p. 74 ff., and *Beilage*.

118. Cf. Strzygowski, *K. K. cat.*, nos. 7328, 8781, and p. 40-41, nos. 7295, 7296, 7297 and 7298. Cf. also examples in the Berlin museum, (Wulff, *Berlin Cat.*, nos. 233-235, p. 76).

Bibliothèque Nationale, (Fig. 7) and in London, South Kensington and Berlin the scallop shell is not placed in the center of the triangular pediment but is represented directly back of the consul's head, with the lower part coming below the tympanum proper and impinging upon the architrave. It is no wonder that this conch has been taken for a halo¹¹⁹; the artist himself may have had some such idea in mind for he certainly had no conception of its proper function. The David and Gregory leaves at Monza¹²⁰ show a similar misunderstanding of this motive; the scallop shell is here detached from the gable which it is supposed to fill. This diptych is probably an eighth or ninth century copy of a late fifth century consular diptych, or perhaps even a reworked diptych.

In Asia, as we have noted, the scallop shell was used normally; this is well illustrated by the group of Asiatic sarcophagi of the Sidamara¹²¹ type which date from the second to the fourth century. The Ravenna type of sarcophagi¹²² show a similar normal use of the scallop niche, another argument in favor of the now generally accepted theory that these sarcophagi are of Asiatic origin.

In Egypt and the Latin West this normal use was misunderstood. In the Latin West the shell was usually reversed, the hinge being represented at the top with the flutings radiating downwards, while in Egypt, although the Eastern type of shell is employed, it has, as noted above, a curious detachment from the pediment and the flutings tend to impinge upon the architrave and the border surrounding the tympanum. The use of this form of scallop shell on the consular diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class, while not definitely proving a Coptic or Egyptian origin, is a point against Syria and Asia Minor in our consideration of the origin of this style since no artist from that region, so far as extant monuments show, ever so misunderstood the use of his favourite ornamental motive.

Thus we see that the prevailing ornamental motives used on the consular diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class are either peculiar to Alexandria and Egypt or appear most frequently on those monuments assigned to an Alexandrian or Alexandrian-Coptic atelier. Furthermore the vine-motive, probably the most characteristic of all the motives used in Asia, is conspicuous by its absence on these diptychs, and, lastly, it is difficult to believe that an Asiatic artist could have thus misunderstood the use of the scallop niche. These facts help to eliminate Antioch and Asia Minor as a possible source or origin of the style of the diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class and to confirm the Alexandrian attribution.

The figure-style amply supports this attribution. We have already noted the close connection in general composition and in such details as the treatment of the eyes, face and hands, with the frescoes at Bawit and the Coptic ivories as illustrated by the Adoration panel in the British Museum. If we investigate the matter more thoroughly we shall find these similarities even more striking. The wig-like hair, either straight and cut around the forehead so as to form a bang as in the Areobindus and Anastasius

119. Gori, *Thesaurus veterum Diptychorum*, pl. XII; Westwood, *Fictile Ivories*, nos. 58, 59.

120. Venturi, *Storia*, I, fig. 350; Molinier, *Ivoires*, p. 37, no. 44.

121. For examples cf. C. R. Morey, *Sardis*, V, pt. 1; *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic*

Sarcophagi, nos. 39, 40, 41, 52, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 62, 65, 71, 80, and many others; the Eastern type is also well exemplified by the ambon of Salonica, now at Constantinople (Cf. Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 185, pl. XXXI).

122. Cf. Venturi, *Storia*, I, figs. 197, 198, 202, 203, 205, 206, 212, and 215.

diptychs, or in conventional curls¹²³ as in the Magnus leaves, and the Clementinus and Orestes diptychs, is found on many Coptic ivories. On the Murano book cover (Fig. 10) we find the straight variety as well as the peculiar rendering by cross-hatching mentioned before in connection with that type of ornament, which is also found on some of the gladiators or acrobats on the Areobindus leaves in the Cluny Museum (Fig. 28), and at Petrograd (Fig. 8). The wig-like hair of the straight variety, as exemplified in the figures of the consuls on the Anastasius diptychs, and by many of the minor figures on the Areobindus leaves in the Cluny and at Petrograd (Figs. 8, 28) by the Clementinus diptych and the leaf of the Magnus type at Liverpool (Fig. 30), is found on many of the panels of the Maximianus chair¹²⁵. It also appears on the Murano book cover and on the diptych in the Bargello¹²⁶, one leaf of which depicts the scene of Adam in a terrestrial Paradise and the other the story of St. Paul at Malta. We find a parallel for the curly type of hair on the Barberini ivory in the Louvre¹²⁷, the Archangel Michael¹²⁸ and the Adoration panel (Fig. 9) in the British Museum, and on the Saint Menas and Daniel pyxides¹²⁹ from the same museum. Here the hair is either carefully curled as in the Magnus diptychs and in the pyxides of the British Museum, or done in a freer manner although still within the limits of convention. The hair of the attendant to the right of the consul in the Areobindus leaves in Cluny and Petrograd (Fig. 8) in particular the latter, illustrates this freer mode and is quite similar to the Christ of the Barberini diptych¹³⁰, the British Museum Michael¹³¹ and the angels of the Berlin sacred diptych (Fig. 15)¹³². A cruder and still more conventionalized type, as illustrated by several of the spectators appearing in the balcony of the Areobindus leaf at Petrograd (Fig. 8) is almost identical with that of the angel to the Madonna's right in the British Museum Adoration (Fig. 9). Other monuments on which this «curly» type of hair is found are the Adoratoir pyxis in the Bargello¹³³, two porphyry sarcophagi in the Vatican¹³⁴ and the pyxis from the Life of Christ in Pesaro¹³⁵, to mention a few of the most characteristic.

123. This curly type of hair is also characteristically Alexandrian, or rather Alexandrian-Coptic. The Asiatic artist left the hair in a block and made great use of the drill (cf. *City-Gate Sarcophagi*, by Marion Lawrence, p. 1 ff., of this magazine); the Alexandrian artist, on the other hand, develops the hair much more naturally. This practice was taken over by Coptic style, which conventionalized it as here. If we compare the way the hair is rendered on the Asiatic Sarcophagi, (Cf. no. 116, or Dalton *East Christian Art*, p. 174, pl. XXIX), with the way it is done in such Alexandrian monuments as the Berlin pyxis, (Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 174, pl. XXXIV), the Maximianus Chair (Cf. Figs. 12, 16, 18), the Archangel Michael in the British Museum (Dalton, as above, pl. XXXVI), or the Barberini diptych in the Louvre (Venturi, *Storia*, I, Figs. 360; Diehl, *Justinien*, frontispiece; and Fig. 20), this difference of point-of-view and technique is easily seen. The manner of rendering the hair on the consular Diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus Class, especially in such examples as in the curly-haired attendants to the consul's right in the Areobindus diptychs in Paris, Petrograd and Zürich, (Fig. 8), or the consuls in the Magnus and Clementinus diptychs, (Fig. 27), clearly falls in with the latter tradition of style rather than in that of the former.

124. In particular in the case of the Egyptians in the Joseph scenes, (cf. Fig. 16), whose hair is piled high above

their foreheads and hangs down over their ears giving the effect of a pointed cap; we find a parallel for this sort of rendering in the figure of a spectator at the arena to the extreme left on the Areobindus Cluny leaf, (Fig. 28).

125. In the Healing of the Paralytic and of the Demoniac the treatment is quite close to many of the minor figures of the Areobindus and Anastasius leaves, (cf. Figs. 7, 8, 28).

126. Molinier, *Ivoires*, pl. V, p. 58, and fig.; Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 193, 194, figs. 116 and 117; Molinier assigns this diptych to the fifth century.

127. Venturi, *Storia*, I, fig. 360.

128. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, fig. 121; *East Christian Art*, pl. XXXIV.

129. Dalton, *B. M. Cat.*, pls. IX, and X.

130. See note 127.

131. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, fig. 121; *East Christian Art*, pl. XXXVI; *B. M. Cat.*, pl. VIII.

132. We have an instance of a sort of cross hatching as a conventional way of rendering curls in the Adam of the Bargello leaf (Molinier, p. 38; Dalton, as above in note 126) which is quite similar to that of the servants emptying money sacks on the right hand panel of the Orestes leaf (Fig. 32).

133. Venturi, *Storia*, I, fig. 40.

134. *Ibid.*, figs. 171, 172, 173 and 174.

135. *Ibid.*, figs. 402, 403.

Even more striking and convincing are the parallels for the rendering of the hair by cross-hatching; in the Murano book cover (Fig. 10) this way of representing the hair is frequent but there it differs somewhat from the treatment on the Areobindus leaves (Figs. 8, 28) since the cross-hatching is strictly horizontal and vertical and not aslant. However, in a panel from the Maximianus chair representing the Nativity (Fig. 13) we find it used in exactly the same way as on the consular diptychs, in this case for the hair of Salome.

We have already noted the curious survivals such as the Hellenistic head of the attendant to the consul's right on the Areobindus leaves at the Cluny and in Petrograd (Fig. 8); a similar head appears on the diptychs of the same consul in Besançon and Zurich. This type of head, which is the regular formula for an angel, is duplicated, as noted before in connection with the « curly » type of hair, in the angels of the Berlin sacred diptych (Fig. 15) and in the Christ enclosed in a medallion at the top of the Barberini diptych in the Louvre. The beautiful diptych in the British Museum¹³⁶ with a representation of the Archangel Michael shows the same formula,—for formula it is despite its beauty.

If we note the way in which action is rendered in these diptychs, as it occurs in the scenes from the arena or elsewhere in the lower registers, we shall find all the evidence points towards an Alexandrian or Alexandrian-Coptic origin. The figures have a sort of dislocated posture with the torso thrown forward and the legs backwards as appears frequently in such manuscripts as the Joshua Rotulus and the Paris Psalter, which surely go back to Alexandrian archetypes¹³⁷. Furthermore in the diptych of Magnus (A. D. 518) as illustrated by leaves in the Bibliothèque Nationale, (Figs. 29, 30, 31) Liverpool and Petrograd, we have examples of the upward « flying fold »¹³⁸ (a persistent motive in Alexandrian and Coptic works) in the mantles of the slaves emptying money-bags in the lower register. These three diptychs, as I shall show later, are Roman copies of an Alexandrian diptych of which the fragment in the Bibliothèque Nationale is one of the original leaves. The flying fold also appears in a similar position on the diptych of Justinus (A. D. 540) in Berlin¹³⁹.

Thus we find on examining the diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class that the ornamental motives are predominantly Coptic and that their figure-style finds its closest parallels in frescoes in Bawit and in Coptic ivories, especially those associated with the Murano book cover and the Maximianus chair; add to this such Hellenistic reminiscences as the type of angel in the Areobindus diptychs and the use of the Alexandrian upward « flying fold » and our evidence for Alexandria as the source of this style is sufficiently convincing. Whether the diptychs of this class were actually carved in Alexandria or not is of little importance; though as Egypt is close to the source of ivory, the principal material for the diptychs, the most important ateliers from which the consuls of the sixth century ordered their diptychs may well have been located there. But Alexandrian ateliers might well have been working at this time in Rome or Constanti-

136. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, fig. 121; *B. M. Cat.*, pl. VIII.

137. For instance cf. *Il Rotulo di Giosue*, *cod. vat. Pal.*

gr. 431, Milan, 1905, Hoepli, pls. I, II, XI, and XIV.

138. *Il Rotulo di Giosue*, pls. I, III, VI, X, XIII; C. Stor-

najolo, *Le Miniature della Topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste*, (Milan, 1908).

139. Volbach, *Elfenbeinbildwerke* (Berlin, 1923), I, p. 4, pl. 5, no. 3367; Ch. Diehl, *Justinien*, 1901, p. 658, fig. 209.



FIG. 21 — Florence, Bargello:
Diptych of Basilus, A. D. 480
(Photo Brogi).



FIG. 22 — Brescia, Museum:
Diptych of Lampadii
(Photo Delbruëck).



FIG. 23 — Basle, Museum: Panel from "Composite", Diptych
(Photo Delbruëck).



FIG. 24 — Milan, Castello:
Diptych (reverse) of Basilus,
A. D. 480 (Photo Delbruëck).



FIG. 25 — Chronograph of 354.

nople. The important thing is that the diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class are definitely allied to one another in style and in ornament and were certainly executed in the same school, the Alexandrian or Alexandrian-Coptic origin of which is proved by the evidence accumulated above.

Furthermore, if we include the fragments from composite or « five-part » consular diptychs at Milan and Basle (Figs. 19 and 23), our evidence is even more conclusive. The inscriptions, as stated before, show plainly that these diptychs were intended as a gift from the consul to an emperor or empress. The Latin inscriptions, moreover, are incised, and have the same appearance of later additions by the purchaser which we have noted in the case of the ordinary diptychs. The figure-style of these two diptychs is remarkably akin to that of the Barberini diptych in the Louvre (Fig. 20) and of the Maximianus chair. We find the same vigorous rendering of action with a marked preference for the three-quarter pose, the same impressionistic rendering of the hair, and the use of the Alexandrian upward « flying fold »¹⁴⁰. If we compare the lower panel of the composite diptych in the Trivulzio Collection at Milan (Fig. 19) with the corresponding panel of the Barberini diptych in the Louvre (Fig. 20) this similarity is so marked as almost to warrant the assumption that they are by the same hand; they are certainly of the same atelier. The « curly-haired » type as it appears on the Trivulzio panel is identical with the treatment of the hair of the Christ enclosed in the medallion and of the two supporting angels at the top of the plaque¹⁴¹. Furthermore we find the bead border and the use of cross-hatching which have been shown to be Coptic motives¹⁴².

The motive of two angels supporting a wreath or medallion is itself Alexandrian-Coptic and common on monuments of Egyptian provenance. Thus we find it on the following monuments; on a tapestry of the fifth century from a Coptic cemetery in Egypt¹⁴³ and which is now in the South Kensington Museum; on a Coptic comb from Antinoë, in the Cairo Museum¹⁴⁴; on a lunette from Ali-Moschee at DASHLÛT¹⁴⁵; on the Etschmiadzin book cover (Fig. 17); on the book cover in the Bibliothèque Nationale,¹⁴⁶ and on the Murano book cover (Fig. 10). On the Anastasius diptychs in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 7) and in Berlin and South Kensington this motive appears in different form since the genii support the medallion by means of the garland by which they hold.

We may now take up the Latin diptychs which seem to be copies of Greek or Alexandrian originals, for henceforth I shall speak of the diptychs of the Areobindus-Magnus class as the Alexandrian group. I have briefly mentioned at the beginning of this article the main differences between the style of the Latin and Greek diptychs. Besides the differences in composition and individual details there is a different point-of-view in regard to technique. The Roman or Latin artist, even when through lack of skill

140. This type of upward « flying fold » is of the trumpet shaped variety which is even more definitely Alexandrian than the other. For discussion of it and its relation to the Barberini diptych in the Louvre cf. E. Baldwin Smith, *A. J. A.*, 1917, p. 23.

141. Venturi, *Storia*, I, p. 394, fig. 360.

142. Cf. note 115.

143. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 577, fig. 362.

144. Strzygowski, *K. K. Cat.*, pl. XVII, no. 7117.

145. Strzygowski, *K. K. Cat.*, fig. 160; Cabrol, *Dict.*, I, col. 2292, fig. 7117.

146. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, pp. 207-208, fig. 124.

he was forced to drop into a more or less linear technique, has always described, registering the full detail of his form, however ugly the result. Not so with the Alexandrian artist who preferred a more impressionistic rendering in keeping with the « optic » point-of-view.

Now if we examine the diptychs of Boethius (A. D. 487, Fig. 4) and that of Basilius (Fig. 21), attributed by Graeven to the consul of 480 A. D.¹⁴⁷ we will at first be struck with the many resemblances between the two works. The same broken-down acanthus border appears in both ivories; the consul wears the double tunic over which is draped the *toga picta* in quite similar fashion and one which is quite different both from the earlier way of wearing a toga as illustrated in the diptych of Felix (428, Fig. 6) where the band is thrown over the left shoulder, and the later type as illustrated by the Alexandrian diptychs where it is first thrown over the right shoulder, not the left¹⁴⁸. Even the ornament of the two diptychs seems very similar at a casual glance. This consists in the main of rosettes enclosed in circles or rectangles, of a foliate or branch-like decoration, and a simple wave-motive or rinceau; the only striking difference in the type of ornament is the palmette, or more correctly the Egyptian feather pattern which appears on the lower part of the toga on the Basilius diptych and which is not present on the Boethius ivory. The foliated capitals are also quite similar in character; in both cases the acanthus leaves have an accentuated verticality and the abacus blocks are decorated with a quatrefoil. These resemblances, in addition to the fact that the consul is represented as standing rather than seated as was customary in the diptychs issued by the consuls of the sixth century, led Graeven to attribute this diptych, quite rightly I believe, to the Basilius who was consul in A. D. 480 and not to the consul of 541, to whom it had formerly been assigned.

But if we examine the two diptychs more closely we will see that the figure style is different. The craftsman who executed the Boethius diptych was still trying to follow the Latin tradition of modelling and has thus rounded off all the sharp edges of the drapery and the body. The body is swathed in heavy drapery with little attempt to show the form beneath; the hands look like empty gloves with no real substance beneath; and the face has that curious ironed-out effect so characteristic of the decadent Latin style. What a contrast is this miserable work to that of the Basilius diptych which superficially seems to resemble it! The artist here has made no attempt at description of detail but instead with quick, sharp strokes of the knife has given us an impressionistic rendering of the whole. Notice how the interstices between the fingers of the left hand are represented with deeply-cut incised lines; there is no rounding off of sharp edges here. Even the ornament of the toga and the acanthus border is executed in a different fashion from in the Boethius diptych; the petals of the rosettes are sharper and finer; the acanthus leaves are not carefully distinguished but done for a general effect; the whole technique is that of a more sensitive and nervous hand than was possessed by the craftsman of the Latin work.

The same holds true of the scene in the circus below; if we compare it with a

147. Graeven, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1892, p. 210, 215.

148. For discussion of costume cf. Wilpert, *Un capitolo*

di storia del vestiario, in *L'Arte*, 1898, ff.; L. Wilson, *The Toga*, 1924.

similar representation on the Lampadii leaf at Brescia (Fig. 22) which is a Latin work of the early fifth century¹⁴⁹, this difference in technique is easily discernible. While there is no real perspective in either case yet the artist of the earlier work has carefully modelled every detail of the scene including the legs and feet of the off-horses which draw the quadrigae. In the Basilius diptych, on the other hand, these same details of the middle and far distance are merely indicated with incised lines showing the difference between the point-of-view of the Latin artist, who true to his Roman heritage, wished to show every detail as it actually was, even if it could not have been thus seen by the spectator, and that of the Alexandrian artist (for the tradition of the Basilius diptych is certainly Alexandrian), who is much more interested in an illusionistic representation.

There are other points of general style which point to Alexandria as the source of the composition of the Basilius diptych besides the impressionistic rendering of details. The female figure, perhaps a personification of Rome or Constantinople, is represented in three-quarters view with a sharp falling off of the inner contour of the right cheek; this was a favourite trick of the artists of the Alexandrian school who made frequent use of this pose; an Asia Minor or Syrian artist would not have succeeded so well in such a representation for he habitually extended the inner contour giving a curious fat-faced effect as is shown in the Anatolian miniatures of the Sinope and Rossano Gospels. This Asiatic method is a compromise between the Hellenistic formula for the three-quarters pose and the desire for clear frontality. Another Alexandrian motif is the manner in which this same figure and the Victory on the second leaf at Milan wears her drapery; it consists of a loose robe which falls down to her feet leaving part of her right shoulder and breast bare. A similar arrangement of drapery is found in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter, which follow Alexandrian formulae, and on a bone carving of the impressionistic class found in Alexandria and now in Berlin (Fig. 26).

There is a very curious parallel to the second leaf of the Basilius diptych in a miniature of the Chronograph of 354 (Fig. 25). In this work of over a century earlier, though it only exists in a Renaissance copy of a ninth century Carolingian copy, we find every element which is represented on the Basilius leaf at Milan (Fig. 24). In each we see a Victory with outspread wings represented in three-quarters view with head turned to the left; she holds a medallion which rests on her left knee and is grasped in both hands; at her feet is a spread eagle whose head is seen in profile. Strangest of all is the coiffure of the lady; on the Basilius leaf she seems to wear a sort of headband which terminates in two leaves or feathers just above her forehead; when we observe the drawing of the Chronograph, however, we see that this is really only tufts of hair which are drawn together through a loop in conformity with the custom seen in many an antique statue¹⁵⁰. If this strange resemblance means that the Milan leaf was copied from the Chronograph of 354 it indicates a Latin artist for the Basilius diptych.

But it seems to me that the other leaf is surely a copy of an Alexandrian original

149. Cf. note 22.

150. Many examples in Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statu-*

aire; cf. also the article by L. W. Jones, p. 112, of this magazine.



FIG. 26 — Berlin, Museum:
Bone Carving.



FIG. 27 — Paris, Bibl. Nat.:
Diptych of Probus Magnus, A. D. 518
(Photo Delbrueck).



FIG. 28 — Paris, Cluny Museum:
Diptych of Areobindus, Detail
(Photo Delbrueck).



FIG. 29 — Paris, Bibl. Nat.:
Leaf of Probus Magnus, A. D. 518
(Photo Delbrueck).



FIG. 30 — Liverpool, Museum:
Leaf ascribed to Probus Magnus,
A. D. 518 (Photo Delbrueck).



FIG. 31 — Petrograd, Museum:
Leaf ascribed to Probus Magnus,
A. D. 518 (Photo Delbrueck).



FIG. 32 — South Kensington, Museum: Diptych of Orestes,
A. D. 530 (Museum Photo).

for the reasons given above. The Boethius diptych is assigned to a Roman school of ivory carvers working in Provence by Dr. E. Baldwin Smith¹⁵¹, chiefly on the basis of its similarity to the Milan book covers¹⁵², which from style and iconography belong in his opinion to that province. The similarities in ornament are quite striking. The same architectural background, even to the pilaster capitals and the crudely-cut architrave, is used in both and the wreath at the top of the Boethius leaves is a combination of the wreaths in the four corners and in the center of the Milan book covers; it is decorated with a rosette at the top and is tied at the bottom with a long crinkly ribbon which ends in pine cone knots. The same broken-down acanthus border is used in both. The generally linear style and in particular the hair of the consul which is composed of shell-like curls and recalls the wig-like character of the treatments on the Milan book covers, quite different from the wig-like, or rather cap-like hair mentioned in connection with the Alexandrian style, is characteristic of the evolution of the Latin style of the fifth century in Italy and Provence.

The resemblance between the Boethius and Basilius diptychs makes it necessary to assume either that both were copied from the same or similar models, (or at least that the artist had such a model in mind), or that one was copied from the other. The most probable theory seems to me to be that the craftsman who executed the Basilius diptych was a Latin craftsman who may have copied a miniature of the Chronograph of 354 for one of his leaves, but an Alexandrian original for the other, and that this leaf was in turn copied, as to the consular figure, by the man who executed the Boethius diptych. This latter craftsman, however, made no attempt to closely follow his model except in a general way and thus relapsed into the more familiar Latin style.

Another clear case of a Latin imitation of an Alexandrian original is found in the four diptychs assigned to the consul Probus Magnus (518 A. D.) at Paris, Liverpool and Petrograd (Figs. 27, 29, 30, 31). One of these leaves has been previously discussed in connection with the Areobindus-Magnus class of diptychs, namely the fragments of a leaf in the Bibliothèque Nationale; the other half of this diptych, also in a fragmentary condition since it lacks the upper and lower parts of the leaf, is in Milan¹⁵³. Neither of the leaves of this diptych bear any inscription and it has thus been assigned to the consul Probus Magnus (A. D. 518) on the basis of another leaf, also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which is complete (Fig. 29). But this leaf, although markedly similar to the fragment in the same Museum which I shall henceforth call the Paris fragment (Fig. 27), in general composition and even in some of its ornamental details, is markedly inferior in workmanship and bears many evidences of being a copy, either of the Paris fragment itself, or of a diptych quite similar to it. There is also a leaf of a consular diptych in the Free Public Museum, Liverpool, which is also attributed to the consul Probus Magnus, but which, as has been stated before, was left uninscribed until the twelfth century when it was dedicated to the French bishop Baldricus (Fig. 30).

151. *A Source of Mediaeval Style in France, Art Studies*, 1924, fig. 19, p. 105.

152. Venturi, *Storia*, I, figs. 388 and 389.

153. *Ibid.*, fig. 343; this leaf has been reworked, the consul being transformed into a St. Paul, (Graeven, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1892, p. 210-213).

The lower part of the toga of the consul on the Bibliothèque Nationale leaf is left plain while that on the Paris fragment and on the Baldricus leaf is richly ornamented; so also in the lower part of the leaf, the discs scattered round the field, which on the Baldricus leaf are decorated with crosses, are here left uninscribed. Furthermore there are several clear cases of misconception on the part of the sculptor of the leaf of the Bibliothèque Nationale; first of all, instead of representing the cap-like hair of the curly type which is carefully waved in the Paris fragment and the Baldricus leaf and is so characteristic of Alexandrian practice, the artist has here represented straight hair neatly parted in the center; secondly there is an obvious misunderstanding of the footstool or stepped platform on which the consul's feet rest; here the Latin artist in his attempt to copy the perspective of the Alexandrian work has merely represented an egg-and-dart moulding running aimlessly into space and with no real relation to the rest of the footstool although it is attached to its lower left corner. This perspective is more correctly rendered on the Paris fragment and on the Baldricus leaf.

The lower registers of the leaf in the Bibliothèque Nationale and of the Baldricus leaf are almost identical in composition and detail. In both cases we have two youths clad in short tunics and mantles which terminate in the Alexandrian upward «flying fold», who empty money from sacks carried on their shoulders. There is a marked originality shown in the rendering of this scene which was intended to show the largess of the newly elected consul. In the more familiar type as seen in the diptychs of Clementinus (A. D. 513)¹⁵⁴ and of Orestes (A. D. 530; Fig. 32) the two youths are represented in almost identical postures with the money sack resting on both shoulders and firmly grasped with two hands; here the youth to the left balances the sack on his shoulders with one hand while with the other he grasps the neck of the bag and directs the stream of its contents into the receptacle at his feet; the servant to the right, on the other hand, has removed the sack from his shoulders to an easier position in front of the body partly supporting its weight on his right knee which in turn rests upon a rectangular object, perhaps a diptych, on the ground below. The nearest parallel to this sort of composition is found in the diptych of Justinus (A. D. 540)¹⁵⁵ where we have similar upward «flying folds» and in which the money bag is again carried in front of the body in the case of the figure to the right on the first leaf.

The many resemblances between these three ivories are too numerous to be accidental; this fact is even more evident when we consider that the chair on which the consul sits is different from the usual type and appears nowhere else save on these ivories, all assigned to the consul of 518. Now we have seen that the execution of the Bibliothèque Nationale leaf is markedly inferior to that of the Paris fragment; this is true to less extent of the Baldricus leaf. The relation is quite evident if we note the way in which the triple band of rope-pattern festooned with a crown hanging from the center above the consul's head, is rendered in the three examples; in the Paris fragment it is quite close to the laurel wreath or garland of antiquity and is composed of three

154. Venturi, *Storia*, I, fig. 338.

155. See note 135.



Barberini diptych
Lowre



Blind man
Maximianus Chair



Nativity
Maximianus Chair



Berlin sacred
diptych



Diptych of
Clementinus

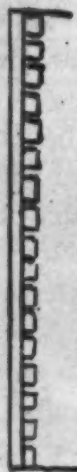


Adoration panel
in the British Museum



Magnus leaf
(Paris fragment)

BEAD AND REEL



Murano book cover



Maximianus Chair
Joseph scene



British Museum
Archangel Michael



Berlin sacred diptych
Christ panel



Diptych of
Justinus



Orestes diptych

DENTIL BORDER

FIG. 33 — Ornament.

rows of overlapping leaves; in the Baldricus leaf and that of the Bibliothèque Nationale, this careful rendering has given way to a more mechanical technique in which three distinct rows are represented with the leaves merely indicated by incised lines.

Thus it seems quite probable that we have here a case of two Latin copies of an Alexandrian original. It remains to be seen whether both the Baldricus leaf and the leaf of the Bibliothèque Nationale were copied from the same Alexandrian original, namely, the Paris fragment before the leaf had been mutilated, or whether the Baldricus leaf was copied from the Paris fragment and was in turn the model for the craftsman who executed the leaf in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This point is easily decided by a close examination of the three leaves. If we note the posture of the female personification of Rome to the consul's right we shall see that in the Paris fragment and the leaf of the Bibliothèque Nationale, she holds her spear with both hands, the lower part of the shaft being held in place with her left hand and steadied by her right which also holds a small ball or *tessera* between her thumb and forefinger, the other three fingers lightly resting on the spear. On the Baldricus leaf, on the other hand, she merely touches the shaft with the tips of the fingers of her right hand though the left arm is in approximately the same relative position. The position of the sceptre surmounted by an eagle is also more nearly similar on the two Paris examples than on the Baldricus ivory where the tail and wings of the eagle stretch across the bare forearm of Constantinople. Thus though the Baldricus and Bibliothèque Nationale leaves show some similar cases of misunderstanding as in the *tesserae* which have become meaningless blobs, the jewels on the garlands which are rendered as crosses, and the shield which has lost its outer border, the differences of copying previously mentioned give us criteria for judging the descent of the two ivories. It seems evident from these that both the Baldricus and Bibliothèque Nationale leaves were copied directly from the Paris fragment and not from each other. As the rendering of the scene in the lower register is identical in composition in each instance it follows that the corresponding register of the Paris fragment must have been of the same nature.

The Baldricus leaf is of much better workmanship than the Bibliothèque Nationale ivory and is closer to the Paris fragment, the Alexandrian original from which the two were copied. The artist, although more mechanical in his treatment of ornament has retained the Coptic cap-like hair and has correctly rendered the perspective of the footstool; the treatment of the eyes is also quite Coptic and, although by the hand of a Latin artist, judging by the bead and reel border which is no longer of the Coptic type, and from other ornamental details, it is quite Coptic or Alexandrian-Coptic in spirit, and shows that the craftsman was greatly under the influence of the Alexandrian tradition. The Bibliothèque Nationale leaf, on the other hand, is clearly a work of a Latin artist who was unable to grasp the Alexandrian conception and relapsed into a crude Latin style, not even taking the trouble to put in such details as the ornament of the lower part of the toga.

There is a fourth leaf also assigned to the consul Probus Magnus in the museum at Petrograd (Fig. 31). It is similar in composition to the Bibliothèque Nationale and

Baldricus leaves but differs in details from either. It once contained an inscription on the cartouche at the top of the leaf which has since been erased and replaced by the incomplete legend, *ARACONTI DEOVOTA*, sculptured in raised letters above the garland on either side of the central wreath¹⁵⁶. The representation on the main part of the leaf is similar to the Baldricus leaf but the scene on the lower register is quite different. The two youths emptying money bags in this case both hold their sacks on their shoulders as in the Clementinus and Orestes diptychs and do not have the variance of posture shown in the Magnus leaves at Paris and Liverpool. The youths themselves are represented in a different fashion; though they wear a short tunic with a mantle which issues in an «upward flying fold», in each instance those on the Petrograd leaf have *lati-clavi*¹⁵⁷, decorated with cross hatching, over their shoulders, and a quatrefoil embroidered over each knee; their hair is also more realistically rendered and lacks the cap-like quality of the other. The arrangement of the objects scattered in the field differs so considerably that it is impossible that one should have been copied from the other. In the Petrograd leaf the discs are decorated with concentric circles and not with a cross; between the two youths is a palm leaf in a vertical position, not aslant as in the Liverpool leaf and that of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and instead of a dish which appears in these leaves, we find three more discs. An extra palm branch, also in a vertical position, occurs in the left side of the leaf. If we examine the main composition of the Petrograd and Baldricus leaves and compare them with the Paris fragment it becomes still more evident that both these leaves were copied from the Paris fragment and not from each other. Thus the sculptor who did the Petrograd leaf adhered quite closely to his original in such details as the way the figure of Rome holds the *tessera* (though here it is inscribed with an *alpha* and lacks the hole in the center) between the thumb and fore-finger which are widely spread; in the representation of the perspective of the footstool which has a less acute angle than on the Baldricus leaf, and in the relative position of the eagle of the sceptre to the right fore-arm of Constantinople; the jewel on the garland, though that on the central wreath has disappeared, is here a real jewel and not a Maltese cross. The busts in the side-panels of the chair on the other hand seem better understood in the Baldricus leaf. It seems evident then that the Petrograd leaf as well as the Baldricus leaf and the leaf of the Bibliothèque Nationale, was copied from the Paris fragment, though the lower part of the leaf may have had its inspiration elsewhere. The artist of the Petrograd leaf, while not as Coptic in spirit as the man who executed the Baldricus leaf, was in turn much more versed in the Alexandrian-Coptic tradition than the carver of the leaf of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

There is still another case of a Latin copy of an Alexandrian or Alexandrian-Coptic original. This is the Orestes diptych (Fig. 32) in South Kensington. In composition, ornament, and to some extent in style, it is remarkably close to the Clementinus diptych

156. This is read as *ARABONTI DEO VOTA* by Darcel, (*Collection Basilewsky*, p. 12, no. 47, pl. CII), Molinier, (I, p. 27, no. 23), and von Sybel, (*op. cit.*, II, p. 236). The reading given above seems clear from the photograph, Fig. 31.

157. In this connection it is interesting to note the parallel between this scene and a representation of the Mir-

acle of Cana, in a Coptic ivory published by Maclagan, (*Burl. Mag.*, XXXVIII, 1921, p. 178-195, pl. I); the two youths have much the same pose as in the Magnus leaves and wear *lati-clavi* decorated with cross-hatching as in the Petrograd leaf (Cf. Fig. 31). The ivory is however obviously much later in date than the early period to which Maclagan assigns it.

at Liverpool, which in turn falls into our Alexandrian group of diptychs. We find such Coptic motives as the sixteen-petal rosette, the dentil border used under a low arch and also as a border for a cartouche, cross-hatching, and the Coptic whorl. Furthermore the treatment of the hair of the consul and of the slaves emptying money bags falls in with the Alexandrian-Coptic tradition. It is in the rendering of the face of the consul in which we find a difference. The eyes are more naturalistically rendered than in the characteristic Alexandrian-Coptic treatments as exemplified by the diptychs of Areobindus, Magnus, Anastasius, and even Clementinus, and there is a good deal of that soft, ironed-out treatment of the face which we noted to be characteristic of the decadent Latin style, but unfortunately more evident in the ivory itself than in our reproduction. The figures of Rome and Constantinople are more truly in the Alexandrian-Coptic tradition with bolder modelling, but the faces and figures of the slaves in the lower register and of the emperor and empress in the medallions at the top of the leaf have the same soft pulpiness in the treatment of the flesh. Now it happens that Orestes was the only consul of Rome¹⁵⁸ whose diptychs have come down to us; all the other diptychs of the sixth century were issued by consuls of Constantinople. Thus it seems to me that this diptych was probably actually executed by a Roman or Latin craftsman who carefully followed the stereotyped composition and general treatment in vogue at the time as exemplified by the diptychs of the Alexandrian class, and in particular by the Clementinus diptych of 513, and who was quite thoroughly versed in the Alexandrian-Coptic style and ornament; nevertheless, in such details as those mentioned above, he reveals his Latin origin¹⁵⁹.

It seems evident, therefore, that the consular diptychs fall into two general groups, the Latin and the Alexandrian, and their classification as to style and chronology is summarily indicated by the Table which I have inserted in the Notes to this article¹⁵⁹. Furthermore the diptychs of the Latin group fall entirely in the fifth century and seem from inscriptional evidence to have been made to order for the various consuls; those of the Alexandrian group, on the other hand, are chiefly confined to the sixth century and seem to have been turned out in wholesale fashion to meet the demands of the consuls who ordered them in numbers, the inscription referring to the consul being added when needed. These diptychs may have been executed in Egypt near the source of ivory, or in Alexandrian shops in Rome or Constantinople, but, wherever they were made, the craftsmen who turned them out were certainly Greek and belonged to an Alexandrian school of ivory carvers. Not only this, but the Latin diptychs of the late fifth and early sixth century, themselves show a dependence on the same Egyptian tradition, preserving thus a lingering trace of Greek *finexxa* even into works that might otherwise be catalogued as specimens of Merovingian art.

158. Dalton, *B. A. and A.*, p. 197.

159. Delbrueck numbers fifty-five diptychs in his list; six of that number, namely, the Anthemius diptych in Limoges, that of Apion at Oviedo, the Secundus leaf at Berlin, an anonymous diptych from Monza now in London and the « Marcus » and an anonymous Christian diptych

in Bologna, I am excluding from this table. The first three I have not seen, nor have I been able to obtain a good photographic reproduction of them; the others will require more study for a definite classification. In addition I have added the panels from two « composite » diptychs at Milan and Basle.

TABLE OF DIPTYCHS.

LATIN DIPTYCHS.	LATIN COPIES OF ALEXANDRIAN DIPTYCHS.	AREOBINDUS-MAGNUS OR ALEXANDRIAN DIPTYCHS.
Symmachorum, etc., London, Paris.		
Probus (406), Aosta.		
Probianus, Berlin.		
Stilicho, Monza.		
Lampadius, Brescia.		
Felix (428), Paris.		
Anonymous, Novara.		
Anonymous (stag-fight), Liverpool ¹⁶⁰ .		
Astyrius (449), Darmstadt.		
Anonymous, Bourges.		
" Halberstadt.		
" (animal fight), Petrograd.		
" (Apotheosis, high relief), London.	Basilus (480), Florence, and Milan.	Anonymous (Bust), Barberini, Rome. " (Gregory), Monza.
" (from Weerth), Paris.		
Sividius (488, Ornamental), Paris.	Boethius (487), Brescia.	Areobindus, (506), Paris. " Petrograd. " Zurich. " Besançon. " Trivulzio, Milan. " (Bust), Paris. " (Ornamental), Lucca. Clementinus (513), Liverpool.
	Orestes (530), London, V. A.	Anastasius (517), Paris. Magnus (518), Paris (fragment).
	Magnus type (Baldricus), Liverpool.	Justinianus (521), Trivulzio, Paris. " Milan. " N. Y. (Morgan Coll.).
	Magnus (518), Paris.	Philoxenus (Bust, 525), Paris. " (Ornamental), Paris. " (Ornamental), Trivulzio, Milan.
	Magnus type, Petrograd.	
	Philoxenus ¹⁶¹ (Ornamental) Liverpool.	Justinus (540), Berlin. Areobindus type, Liverpool. " type, Bologna. " type, Novara. Philoxenus type, Tournai. Panels from « composite » diptych, Trivulzio, Milan. Panel from « composite » diptych, Basle. Roma-Constantinopolis, Vienna.

160. This anonymous leaf at Liverpool on which is represented a combat between stags and gladiators Delbrueck wishes to assign to Constantinople, chiefly on the basis of the fact that there are here three officials instead of merely one, as in the Lampadius diptych, presiding at the games; he thinks that he has historical evidence to prove that Constantinople was the only city which had three such officials of equal rank at this period. The figure-style is decidedly Latin however, and the ornament, though

more Byzantine-looking than that which appears on the Lampadius diptych which has a similar subject, is still not Coptic or Asiatic. If it was made in Constantinople it is probably the work of a Latin artist. For the present we will place it in the Latin group of diptychs and await the results of Delbrueck's researches.

161. This is the diptych which, as noted before, is clearly a copy of the one in the Trivulzio collection at Milan or perhaps even a forgery.



FIG. 1 — P.-Em. III¹ - f. 45^r.



FIG. 2 — P.-Em. IV⁷ - f. 56.



FIG. 3 — F.-Em. IV⁷ - f. 10.



FIG. 4 — F.-Em. V⁴ - 923 - f. 14.

THE ARCHETYPES OF THE TERENCE MINIATURES

By LESLIE WEBBER JONES

THIS paper is an attempt to discover the miniature archetypes of the illustrated manuscripts of Terence solely through the medium of their iconography. The complex questions of miniature style are to be reserved for the text that will accompany the forthcoming photographic corpus of Terence miniatures to be published by Professor Charles Rufus Morey of Princeton and the present writer. In the paper in hand it is assumed that the problems involved are fairly well-known; no attempt will be made to outline their history; scholars and theories will be cited only incidentally.

The immediate occasion for a new consideration of the miniatures is the need of carefully inspecting a fully illustrated manuscript of Terence at Tours (*lat.* 924), which, because of its interesting colored sketches, has been on public exhibition at the Bibliothèque Municipale for some years, but which has never received mention of any sort by scholars. To Professor Edward Kennard Rand of Harvard credit is due for first suggesting that the Tours illustrations might not belong to the conventional miniature archetype.

Tours *lat.* 924 (hereafter to be designated by *Tur*) is a parchment manuscript of 77 leaves arranged in nine regular quaternions and one ternion that lacks its last folio. All the quires are unsigned. Two parchment fly-leaves are attached at the front and two at the rear of the manuscript. As usual, the hair-side of the folio confronts the hair-side and the flesh-side flesh, the hair-sides appearing on the outer pages of the gatherings. The pages, 285 × 178 mm.¹, contain single columns of text 222 × 116 mm. The absence of pin-pricks and the lightness of the impression made by the instrument make it difficult to determine the method of ruling. But apparently, except for some obvious irregularities, the hair-sides were the ones ruled. The script is minuscule of the twelfth century. The few corrections that exist are in a hand not much later than the text. There are large ornamental initials in color (occasionally in gold) and small initials in blue and red. There is a complete series of scene-headings.

The manuscript contains not only all six plays of Terence (the order being *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, *Heautontimorumenos*, *Adelphi*, *Hecyra*, *Phormio*) but a set of miniatures practically complete. While there are no illustrations for the aediculae, for the prologues or for the portrait of the playwright, there are introduced, by way of compensation, a few obviously original scenes, such as that of Calliopi^{us} reading his recension to the assembled multitude (at the beginning of the *Eunuchus*). Unfortunately nine of the colored

1. According to Collon, *Catalogue Gén. des Mss. des Bibls. Pub. de France* (1900), vol. xxvii, 282 x 183 mm.

sketches have been either partly or wholly cut out². The illustrations have apparently been drawn in firm outline first and then painted over in a variety of colors, chiefly blue, red, purple, yellow,—all of several shades. Lines or dots of one color are often superimposed upon a base of another color, as, for example, red lines on blue or blue dots on purple. That no significance is attached to the use of color is proved by the fact that the same character changes the color of his hair as readily as that of his raiment.

Certain characteristics in iconography and style are worth noting here. In general, women are clad in the elaborate long dress of the twelfth century, with a headdress, long sleeves and a train. Old men have tunics and mantles. In addition to the tunics of the same variety as those worn by the slaves, young men occasionally have garments with sleeves rather long, but not so long as those worn by the women. Masks are omitted entirely. Heads are occasionally drawn in profile (an innovation in the Terence tradition) but with the eye in front view. Arms are often crossed over the body or held so unnaturally close to the sides that one is reminded of a soldier standing at attention. The architectural decoration, chiefly doors and bits of houses, is much more elaborate than in the ancient tradition. There are, finally, two important original devices: characters that appear only in the subsequent scene are often introduced at one side of the picture as a sort of transition comparable to the catchwords used at the bottom of a page in manuscripts and in printed books; mute characters, generally omitted altogether in other manuscripts, are represented frequently as standing in, or peeping out from, a doorway.

The position occupied by *Tur* in the text tradition of Terence is not difficult to determine³. A collation of *Tur* with the other manuscripts reveals the following facts:

- (1) The order of the plays in *Tur* is the same as that in the μ and γ families.
- (2) *Tur* agrees with *EHBrZ* of the μ group and with all the manuscripts of the γ group in omitting the *periocha*, the *armarium* and the *prologus*-figure at the beginning of the *Eum*.
- (3) The cases of agreement *in error* of *Tur* with *A* are negligible.
- (4) *Tur* agrees *in error* sometimes with δ alone (about 30% of all the cases considered):

e. g., *And.* i⁵ 61: *permitto*] *comitto* DTur
And. ii¹ 7: *ex animo*] *ab animo* DTur
And. iv³ 11: *hinc sume*] *sume hinc* DTur
Eum. iv⁶ 29: *cognosse*] *cognosce* DTur

sometimes with μ alone (about 19%):

e. g., *And.* ii² 7: *certe*] om. ETur
Eum. iv⁷ 41: The whole verse is assigned to Gnatho in EF¹ (corr. F²)
Tur.
Eum. ii¹ 24: *adventamus*] *convenimus*] ETur; *advenimus* BCPDG
Heaut. prol. 12: *actorem*] *auctorem* ETur

2. Fol. 5v, *And.* ii⁴; fol. 5v, *And.* ii⁵; fol. 6, *And.* ii⁶; fol. 6v, *And.* iii¹; fol. 6v, *And.* iii²; fol. 7v, *And.* iii³; fol. 8v, *And.* iv¹; fol. 9, *And.* iv²; fol. 9v, *And.* i v².

3. For an account of the text tradition consult R. H. Webb's, *An Attempt to Restore the γ -Archetype of the Terence Manuscripts* in *Harv. Stud.*, xxii, 1911, p. 102.

and sometimes with δ and μ together (about 24%):

- e. g., *And.* i¹ 89: *quid est] quid id est* EDTur
And. iv¹ 9: *res premit denegare] res premit eos denegare* EGTur; *res cogit eos denegare* D
And. iv¹ 14: *Ubi opus est illi ubi nihil opust, ibi verentur] Ubi opus est non verentur illic* EDGTur
Eun. v¹ 18: *tace tace] tace (semel)* EFG¹Tur

(5) *Tur* practically never agrees with γ unless it agrees also with δ or μ or both (about 26% in all):

- e. g., *And.* i¹ - : *eis] his* BC² (E) GTur
And. i⁵ 33: *diem] die* BCD (*die ex die* P²) Tur
And. v⁵ 6: *cui nunc] DGV; nunc cui* ABCPETur
Heaut. i¹ 70: *perturbato] conturbato* CPEFTur
Eun. iv⁷ 33: *ego tibi caput] tibi ego caput tuum* E; *caput tibi* D; *ego caput tuum* BCPFGTur
Phor. iv³ 28: *ebo, quid vis] eo dic quid velis* BCPFDGTur.

It is safe, then, to conclude that *Tur* belongs to the μ -family and that it has had a great deal of δ -influence. Since, moreover, in about half of the cases considered *Tur* agrees in error with E (of the μ -family), it is probably nearest E.

The testimony of the scene-headings separately considered only serves to corroborate these conclusions. Except for obviously original variations created to suit the introduction of new characters (mutes, supernumeraries and characters that do not appear in the text until the subsequent scene) the scene-headings of *Tur* agree (not agreement in error) for the most part with δ . But in the following cases they agree with μ (and not δ):

- And.* ii² CPE only; v¹ not EDG; v⁴ not CEDG;
Eun. iv⁴ F only; v⁸ 1031 E only;
Heaut. iv¹ E only; iv⁷ not EG (not a new scene in D);
Adel. ii⁴ CPF, not EDG; v² CPF, not ED (but here the miniature and the scene-heading are evidently inserted later); v⁴ CPEF, not D; v⁸ CPF, not D; v⁹ EF, not the others.
Hec. ii² CPF, not D; v¹ CPEF, not D; v² CP only (but E has the same scene-heading except for the name of the mute character *Nutrix*);
Phor. iii² F only; v³ CPE (F?), not D.

Now the scene-headings of *Tur* never agree with those of γ alone (except perhaps at *Hec.* v³). It may be concluded, then, that the scene-headings of *Tur*, as does the text itself, apparently belong to the μ family, that they have very strong δ influence and that they are near to E.

But it must be remembered that *Tur* is by no means the only illustrated manuscript of Terence. Little attention need be given to K (*Parisinus lat.* 16235-Sorbonne 507-saec. x), which contains before the prologue to the *Heautontimorumenos* a picture of a figure seated at a desk; to Q (*Berolinensis Meermanianus lat.* 196-Philipps 1800-saec. xv), in which the first decorated initial contains a three-quarters portrait, possibly of Terence;

to two manuscripts of the Laurentian Library at Florence (*Laurentiani* ii 276 xxxiv-saec. xiv and iv 173 ii-saec. xv) which have likenesses certainly those of the playwright; or to the later manuscripts such as the beautiful Arsenal manuscript at Paris (25-saec. xv—generally known as T), which have departed almost wholly from the original miniature tradition⁴. The *Basilicanus* (*S. Petri* H 79, generally known as B), of the tenth century, is interesting because although it contains but two miniatures,—a portrait after the manner of CPO (three manuscripts which will be discussed below) and the aedicula for the *Andria*, it has spaces throughout for miniatures that were never made. In text B is practically a direct copy of C. J⁵ (generally known as Y, *Parisinus* lat. 7900), which has miniatures in outline drawing only as far as *Eunuchus* iv³ and spaces thereafter, may be dismissed with the statement that its illustrations are extremely close to those of P and obviously of the same archetype.

Three other manuscripts, though certainly worthy of careful study, must be summarily dismissed from the present consideration on the ground that the evidence they present is too scanty to be of much assistance in determining the miniature archetype, or archetypes, of all the manuscripts. The first, S (*Vaticanus* lat. 3305-saec. xi-xii?) seems to follow CPO in essentials; it even goes so far as to use the antique aedicula to frame an obvious innovation,—the picture, at the beginning of the codex, which represents a theater with Calliopius, Terence, his «*adversarii*» Luscius and Lavinius, an audience and two scenes from the plays, each with two actors. Ld too, (*Leidensis Lipsianus* 26-saec. x) retains the antique costumes and gestures fairly well. Z (*Parisinus* lat. 7903-saec. xi) which has three pen-drawings only, each apparently in a different hand, is a puzzle worth further investigation. All three manuscripts belong to the intermediate class of the μ family in text. Nor is there any reason to suppose that they do not represent a similar class of miniatures.

The early manuscripts CPF and ω ⁶ (the original from which O was copied in the twelfth century) agree to such an extent that they must have been derived ultimately from a common archetype. Besides their agreement in a general way they are in accordance not only in regard to discrepancies between the number of speaking characters and the number of masks represented in the aediculae but in regard to the addition of the figure of Clitipho to the illustration for *Heaut.* ii⁴ 381, although the text calls for only four actors. The discrepancy which occurs when POF omit the illustration for *Heaut.* v² (954) and illustrate v¹ (874) with C's illustration for v² is easily explained. A faulty model has by mistake omitted the miniature for v¹ and has moved up the miniature for v² in its place, leaving no miniature for v². C has corrected this faulty

4. From a search through library catalogues and from information offered me by librarians I am able to add the following to the list of the illustrated manuscripts of Terence,

Bib. S. Michaelis Venetiarnum: 79-saec. xv—«*cum continuatis illustrationibus*».

R. Bib. del Escorial, Madrid: d. iv. 4-saec. xv—«*al principio de cada comedia orla y miniatura que están borradas ó cortadas*». One miniature (0.30 m. high) is preserved in the lower margin of fol. 27.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: lat. 7907 A-saec. xv—«*figurae*». There are about 150 miniatures in all, with figures

clothed in fifteenth century costume. *Now. ag. lat.* 458-saec. xv: «*Les marges inférieures des premiers feuillets sont ornées de 20 petits dessins, d'une facture élégante, se rapportant aux scènes de l'Andrienne*».

5. See J. C. Watson's, *The Relation of the Scene-Headings to the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Terence*, in *Harv. Stud. in Cl. Phil.*, xiv, 1903, pp. 55 sqq.

6. C represents *Vaticanus* lat., 3868 (saec. ix. See C. R. Morey, *Phil. Wochenschr.*, 7 Aug. 1926, p. 880; P, *Parisinus* lat. 7899 (saec. ix); F, *Ambrosianus* H 75 inf. (saec. ix); ω the ninth century archetype of O; O, *Bodleianus Auct. F.* 2, 13 (saec. xii).

model by transposing the illustration for v^1 to v^2 and by supplying in the former place a suitable picture copied from another of its own illustrations.

Weston found in his study of *CPOF*⁷ that «the figures of *C* have less individual variations than those of the other three; that is, when differences occur between the figures in *P*, *F* and *O*, the corresponding detail in *C* usually agrees in a marked degree with one of the three». The miniatures of *C* have certainly faithfully preserved the tradition of its family. In fact, were it not for the evidence of the text, one would hardly believe that they had been done in the ninth or tenth century. The figures remind one, in their proportions, costumes and movement, of figures in manuscripts like the Vienna Genesis and the Codex Sinopensis. They belong to the illusionistic wing of Hellenism by reason of the frequent omission of contour on the lighted side. The painting is done in thick tempera after the manner of the Vatican Vergil.

F, as Professor Morey has already pointed out in the (unpublished) *Notes on Early Illusionistic Manuscripts and their Copies* (Graduate Seminar, Princeton), is worthy of much more attention than it has been given up to the present. Its obvious connection with *CPO* in the matter of common agreement in general, in the discrepancies between the number of speaking actors and the number of masks represented in the aediculae⁸ and in the incorrect insertion of the figure of Clitipho at *Heaut.* ii⁴ 381 has already been pointed out. But there are differences between *F* and *CPO* which are of considerable importance. At *Heaut.* iii³ 593, for example, there is a miniature in *F*, whereas no other manuscript reserves even a space. Yet *F* shows little, if any, tendency to invent minor details. More easily explained, perhaps, is the omission of Chaerea's cap at *Eum.* iii⁵ and the insertion of the cap again at *Eum.* v² (after the manner of *CPO*)⁹. Again, *F*'s omission of the *segmenta* used by *CP* (Fig. 1) on the tunics¹⁰ of the male actors may possibly mean adherence to a more antique tradition¹¹; in any case it probably indicates a tradition at least different from that of *CP*.

There are certain variations in *F* which show that it was a somewhat careless copy of an archetype more antique than that of *CPO*. At *Eum.* iv⁷, *F* (Fig. 3) displays the doorway needed by the scene as given in the text; the omission of the doorway in *CPO* (Fig. 2) renders the scene wholly ineffective. The action of this picture is much enhanced by *F*'s arrangement of the figures on two slopes; in *CPO* the figures are more or less on a dead level. In place of the rectangular cap that *CPO* (Fig. 2) give to Thraso, *F* has an awkward imitation of the traditional helmet (Fig. 3) somewhat similar to the helmet-cap of the Ambrosian Iliad (probably of the end of saec. iv); sometimes almost a pileus in form¹². The *Heaut.* aedícula in *F* (Fig. 5) is, finally, carefully shaded on its shelves and reveals a much better understanding of depth than do the aediculae of *CPO* (Fig. 6).

7. *The Illustrated Terence Manuscripts*, in *Harv. Stud.*, xiv, 1903, p. 43.

8. *F* has only three aediculae, two of which (*Adel. Phor.*) are incomplete and show only two tiers (not 3) without a frame. The aedícula for *Heaut.* does agree, in a general way, with those of *CPO*, although the shading on the shelves in *F* shows a better understanding of depth than is found in *CPO*.

9. At *Eum.* iii⁴ *F* omits the cap, which *CPO* have, or rather changes it into a part of the drapery and, having

once omitted it, *F* is consistent in leaving it out again at *Eum.* iii⁵. But *F* is finally influenced by the model from which it is derived to restore the cap at *Eum.* v².

10. Cf. *And.* i¹, *Eum.* iii¹, iii², etc.

11. This would imply that the archetype of *CP* added the *segmenta*.

12. Cf. *Eum.* iv⁷, v², v³, 1031, v⁸, 1049. The Ambrosian Iliad (e. g., fig. xxv, Hector reproaching Paris) reveals a helmet changed into a sort of cap.

The peculiar ornament for the hair that *F* alone gives to Pythias in *Eun.* v⁴ 923 (Fig. 4) has been reserved for special consideration here. Although in a few isolated instances in the aediculae *C* and *P* have adhered closely to a similar antique mode of arranging the hair¹³, in this instance *CP* have no headdress at all. Now *F*'s peculiar sort of ornament is of great antiquity, as a glance through Reinach's *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine*¹⁴ will prove. It appears particularly in Greek statues of Artemis, of Aphrodite and of Nymphs and in Roman statues of Venus. Composed as it is of two loops tied at the bottom, it seems to have originated from a mode of hair-dressing in which two small knots of hair appear on the top of the head¹⁵. Ornaments quite similar to that of *F* are used in the figures of Victoria and of Luna in the Chronograph of 354¹⁶ (Fig. 7) and in the figure of the Sibyl in Picture 31 of the Vatican Vergil (facsimile), which is usually dated in saec. iv. In later art this same ornament lengthens its loops until they become practically feathers, as in the reverse of the Diptych of the Consul Basilius¹⁷, (Fig. 8) dated by Hans Graeven¹⁸ in 480. It is reasonable to assume, then, that in this ornament *F* is simply following an archetype more antique than are *CPO*.

That *F*'s archetype is more antique than that of *CPO* may be shown in another way. The archetype of the former was copied from γ (the original archetype of all the miniatures we have) after γ had lost folios 9-10 of the *Andria-Eunuchus* quinion. The archetype of *CPO*, however, was copied from γ after γ had lost not only folios 9-10 but also folios 1-2 of the same quinion. Now it is probable that these additional folios were lost, not immediately after folios 9-10, when *F*'s archetype would have been on hand to supply them, but rather at a time substantially later, when *F*'s archetype would have been no longer available for the scribe of the archetype of *CPO*.

What are the conclusions that may be drawn from the evidence presented in *F*? Simply these:

- (1) that *F* has a close connection with *CPO*;
- (2) that *F* also shows evidence of an immediate archetype different from that of *CPO* and apparently earlier;
- (3) that *F* seems, therefore, to be our best index to the iconography of the original miniature archetype γ .

If it be remembered that the miniature tradition is more or less independent of the text tradition, no argument can be adduced against any of these conclusions. It is almost certain that in all the manuscripts the scribe and the artist were two different persons. There is no reason, then, why a bad text should not have good miniatures and vice versa. But in this instance *F*'s miniature tradition harmonizes well enough with its text tradition¹⁹. The more recent archetype of *F* (that is, « more recent » as distinguished from the original archetype of all the miniatures) is undoubtedly one of at least two immediate descendants of the first illuminated manuscript, γ , and must have had

13. These instances occur, e. g., in the *And.* and *Pbor.* aed. for *P*, and in the *And.* aed. for *C* and *B* (which is an evident copy of *C* in both text and miniatures).

14. See i 348; ii 314, 356, 375.

15. Cf. Reinach, *op. cit.*, ii 350, 351.

16. See Strzygowski, *Die Kalenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354* (Berlin, 1888), Tafeln viii, xiv.

17. Milan, Brera Museum.

18. *Röm. Mitt.*, vii, 1892, p. 210; p. 215.

19. Webb, *op. cit.*, mentions, e. g., a few independent good readings of *F* and the possibility that *F* may belong to an independent tradition.



FIG. 5 — F.-Heaut. *Aedicula* - f. 20.

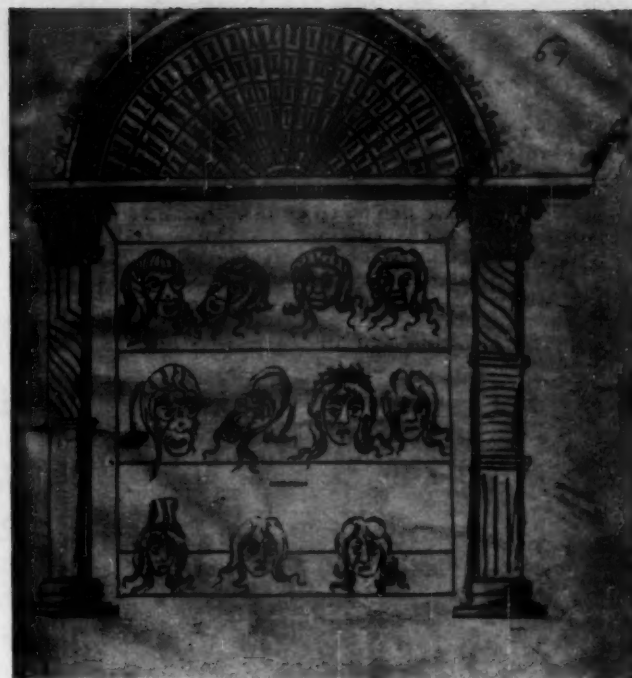


FIG. 6 — P.-Heaut. *Aedicula* - f. 67.



FIG. 7 — *Victoria* (from the *Chronograph of 354*) reproduced by permission of Prof. Strzygowski.



FIG. 8 — *Milan, Castello: Diptych of Consul Basilinus.*

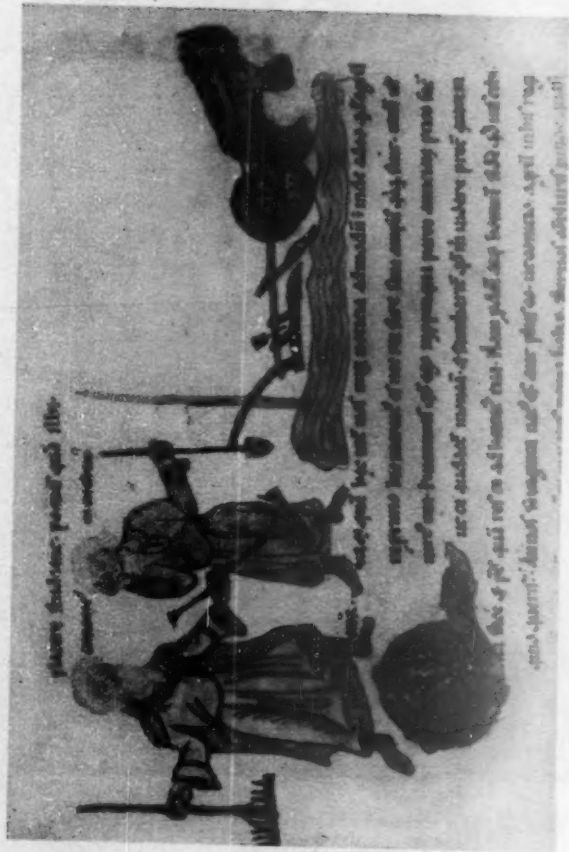


FIG. 9 — Tur.-Heaut. I¹ - f. 28^r.



FIG. 10 — P.-Heaut. I¹ - f. 69.

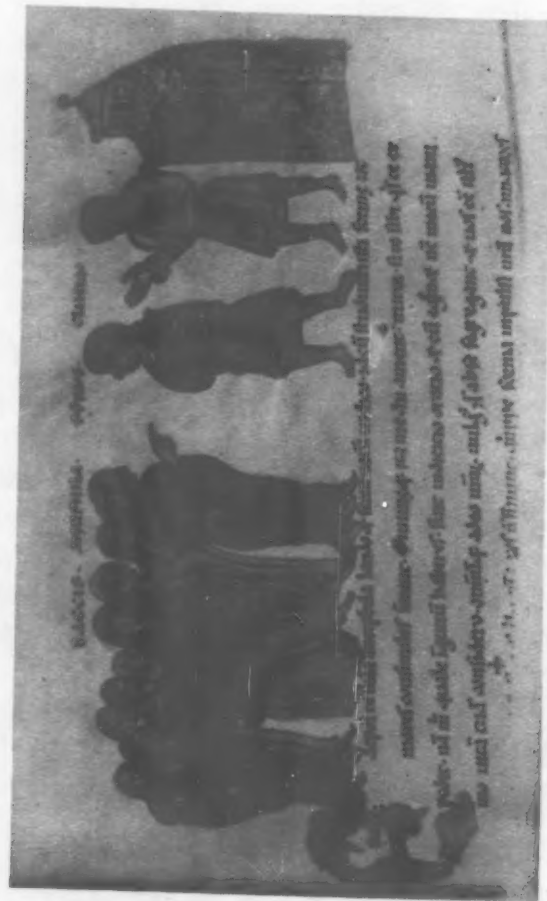


FIG. 11 — Tur.-Heaut. II¹ - f. 32.



FIG. 12 — P.-Heaut. II¹ - f. 77.

a certain number of differences (omission and insertion of scenes and characters, and minor variations in iconography) that the second of the two immediate descendants of γ did not have, as is demonstrated below. The date of *F*'s more recent archetype will be considered at the end of this paper.

It will be convenient at this point to set down the important miniature variations (that, is variations from the archetype of *CPO* or of *F*) in *Tur* and in *N* (*Leidensis Vossianus* 38). Both manuscripts, it will be remembered, are late, *N* being probably of the x-xi century and *Tur* of the xii; both therefore are subject to considerable innovation. *N*, for example, has a starry sky at *And.* iii⁴ (580) and a green hill at *And.* ii⁵ 412 and at *And.* iii⁵ 607. At the very beginning of the codex, *N*, misunderstanding the aedícula, has substituted a picture of Pamphilus conversing with Mysis and Glycerium. *Tur*, on the other hand, not only attaches real horses to the plough in *Heaut.* i¹ (Fig. 9; cf. Fig. 10, *P*), but it introduces and omits doorways and other architectural features almost at will. In addition, *Tur*, as has been shown above, adds a number of supernumerary characters in certain scenes²⁰, (Fig. 11; cf. *P*, Fig. 12) represents mutes (they are not usually present in other manuscripts) generally in doorways and frequently introduces at one side of a miniature actors that appear only in a subsequent scene. One of the striking innovations of *Tur* is the picture of Calliopius reading his recension to the assembled multitude (at the beginning of the *Eum.*, Fig. 13).

But if all these obvious *innovations* be discounted at once, there remains an imposing pile of variations. *N* shows the following:

MINIATURES OMITTED²¹:

And. v⁵. But the other manuscripts have it. *N* has an illustration for *And.* v⁶ like that of *Tur* for the same scene, while the other manuscripts have no miniatures for *And.* v⁶, there being no new scene here in *A* γ *E*. *N*'s omission is due either to a confusion of the *Tur*—and γ —traditions or to a new archetype.

* *Eum.* iii¹

* *Eum.* iii²

* *Eum.* v⁴ 923

CPFTur have miniatures, and all other manuscripts spaces, for these scenes.

MINIATURES INSERTED:

And. i³. (Fig. 14) No miniature and no scene in BCPETur. A new scene in DG.

* *Eum.* ii². A wholly original illustration (Fig. 15). The regular illustration for *Eum.* ii², as it appears in *CPO*, is inserted a little later in the margin (at the right and left of the text).

FIGURES OMITTED:

* *And.* iii¹. There are five figures, and not six (as in *CPO*).

20. See *Heaut.* ii⁴, where *Tur* gives Bacchis a large train of followers that appear in no other manuscript. See also *Hec.* iii³, where *Tur* inserts three porters who do not appear in any other manuscript either in this or in the following scene.

21. Omissions due to the loss or mutilation of a folio are naturally not considered here or elsewhere in this paper. The variations in *N* are explained, for the most part, by a second wave of δ -influence. Those not explained in this way have been starred, thus *.

- Eum.* iii⁴. Chaerea (mute) is omitted, although *CPFO* have him. (There is neither miniature nor space in *Tur* or in *J*). *EDG* also omit the name «*Chaerea*» in their scene-headings.
- * *Heaut.* ii³. One man is omitted. (Four women, who appear in the next scene, are added at the right).
- Heaut.* ii⁴. Clitipho is not incorrectly added as in *CPOFS*. *D* omits the name «*Clitipho*» from its scene-heading.

Tur, again, if the obvious innovations be discounted at once, shows the following variations²²:

MINIATURES OMITTED:

- * *Eum.* iii⁴. A miniature in *CPFN*, however, and a separate scene in *AEDG*. This is a soliloquy.
- * *Adel.* iii³. 355 and 365. The conventional illustration for 365 has been moved up by *Tur* to 355. The conventional illustration for 355 is therefore omitted by *Tur*, although *CPF* have it. (*DG* have a new scene). 365 is a soliloquy.
- Adel.* iv⁷. But *CPF* have one. Not a new scene in *EDG*.
- Adel.* v². Omitted at first because of carelessness or correction from a variant text or from another archetype? Copied in later (?) in the right and left margins. Not omitted in any other manuscript.
- Adel.* v⁷. *Tur* combines the characters of *Adel.* v⁶ and v⁷ in the miniature for v⁶. (*D* also combines the scenes. *CPOF* keep them separate). There is therefore no miniature in *Tur* for v⁷.
- Phor.* i². *Tur* combines this scene with i¹ (as does *D*) and has one miniature for both scenes at i¹. *CPOF* keep the scenes separate.

MINIATURE INSERTED:

- And.* v⁶. *CP* combine this scene with *And.* v⁵ and have only one miniature for both scenes at v⁵. (*N* omits the miniature for v⁵ and has that for v⁶ only).

A DIFFERENT MOMENT ILLUSTRATED:

- Adel.* ii¹: Fig. 16. A moment is depicted wholly different from that in *CPOF*, but *DGV* have the same number of characters in their scene-headings as *Tur* has in its miniature.
- * *Phor.* v⁵: Fig. 17. A moment is depicted wholly different from that in *CPOF*.

FIGURES OMITTED:

- * *And.* iv⁵. Davus omitted. Present in *CPN* and in the scene-heading for *DG*.
- Eum.* iii³. *Tur* has six figures, including two mutes. *CP* have seven. The *Tur* scene-heading has only four names, as has that of *D*.

22. Only those of the most importance are set down here. There are numerous minor variations, such as the omission of Pythias' box in *Eum* iv⁶, the insertion of staffs, or Gnatho in *Eum.* iii¹, and for Sophrona in *Eum.*, v³, etc.

The variations in *Tur* are explained, for the most part, by a second wave of δ -influence. Those not explained in this way have been starred, thus*.

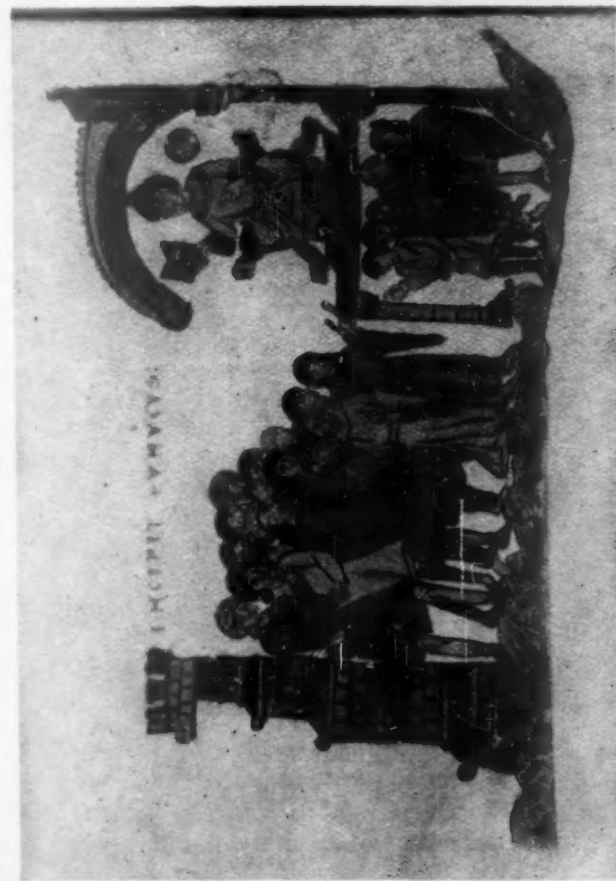


FIG. 13 — Tur.-Em. Frontispiece - f. 13°.



FIG. 15 — N.-Em. II² (232) - f. 32.



FIG. 14 — N.-And. I³ - f. 6°.



FIG. 16 — Tur.-Adel. II¹ - f. 42°.

- * *Eun.* iv³. Dorias omitted. Present in *CPF* and in the scene-heading for *EDG*.
- Heaut.* ii⁴. Clitipho omitted. Added incorrectly in *CPOFS*. (*N* omits him). Scene-headings for *DG* omit him.
- Adel.* ii¹. Bacchis omitted. Present in *CPOF*. Omitted in scene-headings for *DGV*.
- Hec.* iii⁴. Besides the two mutes, figures which are usually introduced in *Tur*, there are only three characters. Yet *CPF* have four, including Parmeno, *twice*. The scene-heading in all the mss., including those of the δ family, have only three names.
- Hec.* iv². *Tur* has two, *CPF* three, figures. The scene-headings for *ED* have only two names.
- Hec.* v⁴. *Tur* has three figures, *CPOF* four, including Pamphilus *twice*. Yet all the scene-headings, including those of the δ family, have only three names.

How can the presence of these numerous variations of the miniatures in *N* and *Tur* be explained? If it be supposed that some of the manuscripts of the μ family (at least *SZLN* and *Tur*) were corrected on the basis of the text and scene-headings of some δ manuscript, a good reason is found for at least half of these variations in *N* and *Tur*. It is needless to point out in detail the application of this fact, which must have been apparent from the description of the differences in particular cases. The first wave of δ influence at some earlier period, certainly before *F*, was by no means of such a character as to account for even a minute fraction of the variations of *Tur* and *N* which *F* does not have. The miniatures prove, then, that there must have been a second wave of δ influence, a fact which Robert Henning Webb²³ on the basis of text alone, was able to put forward only as a probable hypothesis.

But the new δ -wave explains only half the differences. Of those that remain the easiest to account for, perhaps, are the omissions of complete miniatures or of single figures. Miniatures may have been omitted because of (1) a combination of scenes, (2) a faintly drawn model, (3) pure carelessness, (4) a feeling that particular scenes are not important enough to merit miniatures (soliloquies, e. g.). Figures may have been omitted because of (1) a faintly drawn model, (2) carelessness or (3) a desire to improve on the original. If the variations of omission (of complete miniatures and of single figures), as well as the variations due to the second wave of δ -influence, be discounted at this point as relatively unimportant, the seemingly imposing pile of differences in both *N* and *Tur* is reduced to almost nothing. There remain only two miniatures not otherwise accounted for. The first, in *N* at *Eun.* ii², must be an *innovation*, because it illustrates a scene described by one of the characters in a soliloquy (Gnatho and the «*homo haud impurus*» of *Eun.* ii 235 in the market) and *not* a scene that *actually takes place on the stage*. The second, in *Tur* at *Phor.* v², which represents Phormio as standing at the right of both Demipho and Chremes and *not* as being belabored between them, as in *P* and *C*, is also quite probably (though not necessarily) an *innovation*.

23. *An Attempt to Restore the γ -Archetype of Terence Manuscripts* in *Harv. Stud.*, xxii, 1911, p. 102.



FIG. 17 — Tur.-Pbor. V⁸ - f. 75^o.



FIG. 18 — Rome,
Ss. Giovanni e Paolo:
The Arrest of Three
Martyrs.



FIG. 19 — Milan: Trivulzio Ivory.



FIG. 20 — C.-And. I¹ - f. 4^o.

It seems logical, then, to conclude that in miniatures, as in text, *N* and *Tur* represent very much the same tradition as *F*; that they are different from *F* chiefly because of (1) the second wave of δ -influence and (2) a desire for innovation.

• It will be important now to consider the probable dates of the various archetypes. The archetype of *C* has recently been discussed by Professor C. R. Morey in a paper read before the Accademia Pontificia di Archeologia in June 1926 and published in the last issue of its *Rendiconti*. He finds good reason to believe that *C* was copied from a manuscript which was illustrated by a Greek painter of the Asia Minor school that produced the miniatures of the Vienna Genesis, the Gospel of Rossano, and the fragment of Matthew from Sinope. Whether the archetype were illustrated by a Greek miniaturist or not, the stylistic comparisons adduced by Morey show that the style of the original of *C* did not belong to quite so early a period as that of the Vienna Genesis, which has never been dated earlier than the fourth century and is generally assigned to the fifth, nor to quite so late a phase as that represented by the Gospels of Rossano and of Sinope in the sixth. In other words, the archetype of the Vatican Terence was illustrated in the fifth century. This archetype will be designated hereafter as γ^2 .

This archetype was also the ultimate source for the miniatures of *PO*, and the agreement of *CPO* in the matter of the rectangular cap for Thraso²⁴, and the decorative patches (*segmenta*) on the garments of the male figures²⁵, shows that these were features of γ^2 (Fig. 1). As it happens, both these characteristics are dateable. The cap of Thraso is the same as the « *berretto cilindrico* » which Mons. Wilpert²⁶, on the evidence of Eutropius (viii, 26)²⁷, says was introduced into the Roman Empire by Diocletian (285-306), at whose court at Nicomedia Oriental costumes and customs were adopted. In sculpture the cap appears first at St. Mark's in Venice in the figures of the so-called tetrarchs. These figures have been identified as Diocletian, Maximianus Herculeus, Constantius Chlorus and Maximianus Galerius, whose terms of office lasted from 293-306; they are in any case accepted as works of the fourth century. The cap appears occasionally as the head-dress of soldiers on sarcophagi dating from well into the fourth century to the fifth. It occurs also in the Trivulzio Ivory (Women at the Sepulchre) of Milan (dated by Professor Baldwin Smith as circa 400 A. D.; Fig. 19), and in the fresco (circa 400 A. D.) known as the *Arrest of the Three Martyrs* in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Rome (Fig. 18). Inasmuch as Vegetius, who lived from 383 to 450 A. D., speaks of the cap as being already a little old-fashioned in his time²⁸, it must have had its vogue in the fourth century and the first half of the fifth.

Concerning the patches or dots (*segmenta*) on the tunics of male figures in *CP* there is excellent evidence²⁹:

24. See *Eum.*, iv¹, v⁸; 1091; v⁸; 1049.

25. See *Eum.*, iii¹, iii²; etc.

26. *Le sculture del fregio dell'arco trionfale di Costantino*, in *Bullettino Comm. Arch. Comm.*, l. 1ff22, pp. 31 seq.

27. « (Diocletianus) qui imperio Romano primus regias consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanas libertatis inuenerat adorarique se iussit, cum ante eum cuncti salutarentur. Ornamenta gemmarum vestibus calceamentisque indidit. Nam prius

imperii insigne in clamyde purpurea tantum erat reliqua communis ».

28. *De Re Militari*, i., 20: Usque ad praesentem prope aetatem consuetudo permansit, ut omnes milites pilleis, quos Pannonicos vocabant, ex pellibus uterentur....

29. *Notes on Early Illusionistic Manuscripts and their Copies* (unpublished), Graduate Seminar, Princeton Univ., p. 28.

« The question of the probable date when these dots or patches began to be used in antique costume does not here concern us, since we are interested only in when they begin to appear in representations thereof. Such detail commonly makes its appearance with the use of descriptive as opposed to representative style and we can find pretty sure indication of the value of these patches as a test for date by examining their use in the frescoes of the Roman catacombs. In doing this we must distinguish the « letters », or « musical notes », which are embroidered on the *pallia* of more distinguished persons, from the patches of rectangular, or more particularly round, shape which adorn the short tunics of humble characters. Spots appear in this application on a tunic in Callixtus in the second half of the third century, to accept Monsignor Wilpert's dating (*Pitture*, pl. 86). Round patches appear as follows :

« End of third century: Callixtus, Wilpert, pl. 110, 111.

« First half of fourth: Syncretistic catacomb, pl. 132, 1; servant.

Domitilla, pl. 141; child.

Vigna Massima, pl. 146; shepherd.

SS. Pietro e Marcellino, pl. 159; tricliniarch?

« Middle of fourth: Domitilla, pl. 117; shepherd.

Ibid., pl. 190; shepherd.

Ibid., pls. 192, 198; shepherds.

Ibid., pl. 199; male orant; round dots?

Ibid., pl. 249; shepherd.

« Second half of fourth: Coemeterium Maius, pl. 178; shepherd.

SS. Pietro e Marcellino, pl. 186; Noah.

Ibid., pl. 217; male orants; round dots?

Ibid., pl. 233; male orants; round dots?

pl. 237, 1: disciple in Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes.

pl. 237, 2: Hebrew in Miracle of the Rock (note letter on Moses' garment).

Domitilla, pl. 239; man carrying bed.

« This would show that the archetype of *C* and *P* was a manuscript no earlier than 300 ».

The conclusion, then, concerning both the rectangular cap and the patches must be that γ^2 appeared no earlier than the fourth century, and Morey's argument from style would indicate a date in the fifth. It has already been pointed out that *F* belonged to an archetype (let it be called γ^1) parallel to γ^2 , but one that differed from γ^2 in the omission of the dots or patches, in the use of an imitation of an antique helmet instead of the rectangular cap, and in a closer adherence to the iconography of the original illustrated manuscript γ , that is: (1) in the retaining of the doorway necessary to a scene (*Eum.* iv⁷); (2) in the retaining of some semblance of antique depth of composition by arranging the figures on a slope (*Eum.* iv⁷); (3) in shading and the understanding of three dimensions (*Heaut.* aedícula); (4) in retaining an antique mode of hairdressing. These statements are wholly in accord with a fact that has already been set forth (on

p. 112), namely, that because of the copying of γ^2 from γ after γ had lost folios 1-2 of the *Andria-Eunuchus* quinion (which γ^1 preserves), γ^1 is earlier than γ^2 .

There remains to be considered the date of γ only. The omission of the contour on the lighted side in C (Fig. 20) and the attempt to represent depth in F^{30} prove that γ was influenced by the strong Hellenistic illusionism, the latest example of which, in Roman art, as far as has been yet discovered, is that found in the nave mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore (circa 360). This fact and the further fact that γ was earlier than γ^1 (before γ^2 ; say 350) set the *terminus ante quem* as the early part of saec. iv. Now Professor Gunther Jachmann,³¹ in his attempt to set the *terminus ante quem* for γ , on the basis of *text alone*, brings forward one argument only which, on inspection, is not very convincing. He holds that γ must have come *before* A (saec. iv-v) because it observes the traditional scene-headings in *more* cases than does A. His table follows:

MSS.	Change of scene division <i>observed</i>	Change of scene division <i>given up</i>
A	2 times	8 times
δ	1	9
γ	4	7

Even if the validity of Jachmann's criterion be admitted, it is apparent that his evidence is insufficient. It is to the miniatures that one may turn for adequate proof of the *terminus ante quem* for γ .

Neither miniatures nor text, however, afford any adequate evidence as to the *terminus post quem*. While Jachmann's textual arguments that γ came from an original archetype of all the manuscripts by Probus (second half of saec. i A. D.) and that it also came from a more immediate archetype *after* Probus are quite admissible, his attempts to move this second archetype down to 300 (when grammarians were careless) are certainly no more than opinions. The question of the *terminus post quem* of γ is an open one and ought to remain so unless further evidence, of miniatures, of text, or of some other sort, be brought forward.

In conclusion, it may be of profit to cite briefly the more important findings of this paper. It has been demonstrated

(1) that F adheres much more closely to the original miniature archetype γ than do CPO ;

(2) that F also shows evidence of an immediate archetype different from that of CPO and earlier;

(3) that there existed *definitely*, and *not* probably, a second wave of δ -influence which has left its mark on the miniatures of N and of Tur ; and

(4) that the *terminus ante quem* for γ (the early part of saec. iv), for γ^1 (earlier than γ^2 ; probably the middle of saec. iv) and for γ^2 (400-500) can be proved adequately, not by the text, but by the miniatures.

30. See particularly the aedicula to the *Heaut.*

31. *Die Geschichte des Terenttextes im Altertum*, Basel, 1924.

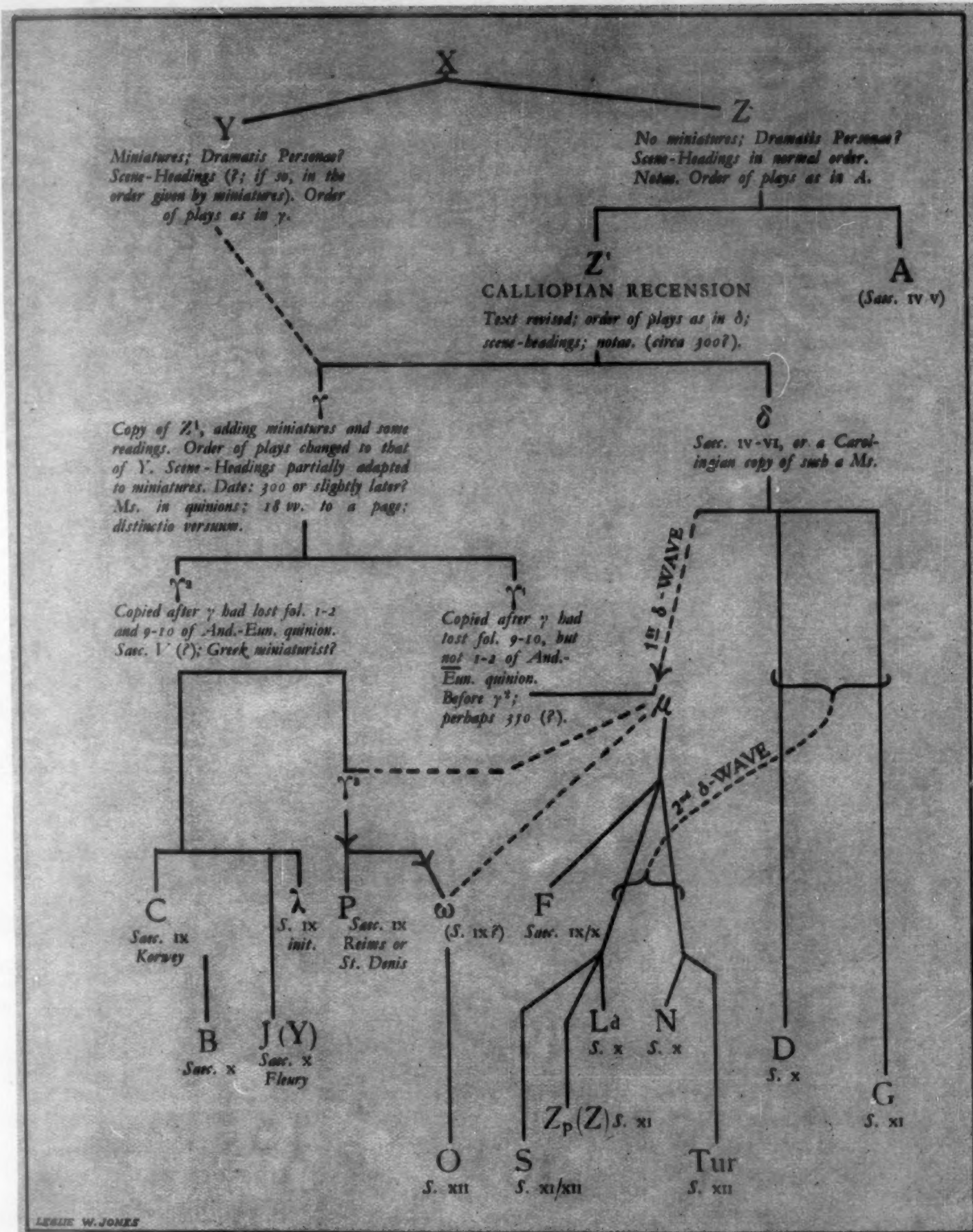


FIG. 21 — Stemma for Terence Manuscripts.

The stemma which follows (Fig. 21) attempts to summarize the results of this discussion. Except for the definite placing of a first and second wave of δ -influence the stemma is in accord with the views of Professor Rand, and substantially in accord with those of Robert Henning Webb,³² as based on the *text* alone. It is important to note that the text and the miniatures work together; one approach to the problem can be used to substantiate the other. Although the scheme outlined here must by no means be considered final, it may help somewhat to simplify the seeming maze of miniature- and text-tradition. The study of the style of these miniatures³³, moreover, may possibly bring about a further clarification. In any case, for a problem so complex, there is need that every bit of evidence be collected and examined.

32. *Loc. cit.*

33. Such a study has been undertaken by Professor Morey of Princeton. It will be part of a work on the

Terence miniatures now being prepared by Professor Morey and the present author.